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Motherhood: a beginning. A socio cognitive approach to the anticipation and experience of first time motherhood

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MOTHERHOOD: A BEGINNING.
A Socio Cognitive Approach to the Anticipation
and Experience of First Time Motherhood

Submitted by DEBORAH JANE BAKER
for the degree of Ph.D.
of the University of Bath
1986

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Abstract

A longitudinal study was set up to explore the characteristics of, and variations in, the social identity and gender identity of women in the anticipation and experience of first time motherhood. Fifty three primiparous women were interviewed at eleven weeks pre-partum, one month postpartum (postal questionnaire) and sixteen weeks postpartum.

In Part One of this study, it was predicted that social identity as a mother would be characterized by subjective identification with own mother, friends and a 'good' mother as similar 'ingroup' members in comparison with work orientated figures as 'outgroup', and that the maternal dimension (i.e. patient/impatient; understanding/not understanding etc.) would be most salient in differentiating 'ingroup' from 'outgroup'. Using repertory grid methodology to delineate the characteristics of social identity, these predictions were confirmed. It was also hypothesized that the degree of positivity of social identity as a mother would vary in relation to previous social experience, the planning decision, and motherhood outcomes. It was found that a more positive social identity as a mother was associated with younger age, fewer years worked, and greater satisfaction with motherhood, as well as a planned pregnancy and more positive feelings towards the baby.

In Part Two of this study, it was hypothesized that variations in gender identity (identified by the Bem Sex Role Inventory; 1974) would relate to differences in the cognitive complexity of the gender schema, as represented by feminine and masculine

constructs on a repertory grid, and use of these constructs in self description. Results confirmed the former, but it was found that for all BSRI groups a feminine (empathic) dimension was primary in self description, and variations arose from the usage of a secondary active/passive dimension, feminine sex typed women endorsing 'passive' constructs and 'masculine' women, active ones. Furthermore, a prediction that high levels of femininity in gender identity would be associated with more positive motherhood outcomes, was not confirmed. Rather high levels of masculinity were associated with more positive feelings for the baby.

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The Grid Analysis Package, used for the analysis of repertory grids in this study was provided by the M.R.C. service for analysing repertory grids, under Dr. Patrick Slater. I am grateful to Douglas Clarke for setting up these computer programs, and to Michael Starbuck, Christopher Bell and Tony Murphy for their advice about analysis.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

This thesis develops a sociocognitive approach to the understanding of womens' construing of themselves in anticipation of, and experiencing first time motherhood.

Social cognition seeks to explain the process by which an individual acquires knowledge through interaction in the social environment. It is assumed that, in order to make sense of this environment, and choose between different courses of action within it, people both organize and interpret social information (Eiser, 1980). Organization involves selection and simplification; Fiske and Taylor (1984) distinguish between categorization and schematization as means of organizing social stimuli. Categorization refers to the process of classifying or ordering stimuli, by identifying the similarities and differences between them. Schema are cognitive structures which internally represent these categories in memory and thus provide a means of interpreting and assimilating new information, from the basis of existing knowledge. By these means, individuals actively construct reality, and thus create meaning from their experience.

Sociocognitive psychology differs from cognitive psychology, in that it concerns itself with the acquisition of knowledge about people and social experience, rather than inanimate objects and abstract concepts (Fiske and Taylor, 1984) . However, as Forgas

(1983) has pointed out, in seeking to explain the relationship between cognition and social experience, sociocognitive theories often focus solely on the individual, and the way the individual interprets social stimuli (whether they be other people or social situations), whilst ignoring the actual characteristics of the social environment, and their importance in influencing an individual's understanding of her social world. This represents an idealist approach to epistemology; social reality can be understood by looking at individuals' interpretations of it, which are taken to be meaningful without recourse to the objective features of that reality (Lefebvre, 1968). If it is acknowledged that the social environment has its own structure, which can be described independently of an individual's interpretations of it, then social cognition can be viewed as the product of a person acting upon, and within, particular social contexts. This represents a materialist approach to epistemology, whereby the actual properties of the social environment are as important as an individual's interaction within it, in determining the nature of cognition (Israel, 1972).

Tajfel (1978; 1979) has suggested that one important characteristic of the social environment, is that most social systems contain collections or groups of individuals, which differ from each other in a variety of ways. Thus, in order for a person to define her place within the social world, and choose between different courses of action within it, she not only evaluates herself in relation to other individuals, but also structures the

similarities and differences between groups of individuals. It is this process of social categorization, which forms the basis of a social identity, that is a conception of 'self' in terms of social group membership.

While many studies of motherhood could be described as socio-cognitive in the sense that conceptions of 'self as mother' are drawn from evaluation of self in relation to other individuals, particularly family members and friends (Breen, 1975; Ballou, 1978; Marcos, 1979; Gladieux, 1978), or as they relate to a change in social experience, from working to motherhood (Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981; 1983), little attention has been paid to the construing of 'mothers' as a particular social group, and to the characteristics of social identity derived from membership of this group. Furthermore, studies that focus on the social identity of women tend to be overgeneral in their orientation. 'Women' are regarded as a homogenous social group; they derive their social identity from evaluation of self as a member of the social group 'women' as distinct from the social group 'men' (Williams and Giles, 1978; Breakwell, 1979; Condor, 1983; 1984). Social categorization on the basis of female and male gender distinctions are thus seen to characterize the social identity of women, as it is defined in relation to sex group membership (Archer and Lloyd, 1982).

This study will focus on the characteristics of, and changes in, womens' social identity on becoming mothers for the first time.

If 'mothers' are seen to constitute a specific social group of women, then it is necessary to move away from the model outlined above, in two important ways. Firstly, it is suggested that women constitute a heterogeneous social group; their social identity is established in relation to specific social group memberships, as they are defined by activity in the social context. For instance, social identity as a mother can be regarded as in many ways characteristically distinct from social identity as a working woman. Following on from this, if we assume that social identity as a mother can be characterized in terms of social categorizations that distinguish 'mothers' from other groups of women, rather than those distinguishing 'women' from 'men', then differentiation on the basis of gender distinctions (i.e. femininity/masculinity) becomes less central to its definition. This is not to say that women's self descriptions in terms of femininity and masculinity are unimportant in the context of first time motherhood; indeed, Breen (1975) and Oakley (1980) have shown that construing of self on this dimension influences both the degree of satisfaction with motherhood, and feelings for the baby. However, what is argued in this thesis, is that constructions of self as feminine/masculine represent one component of the self schema, rather than being fundamental in defining social identity, as it arises from evaluation of self, in terms of social group membership. The self schema, as defined by Fiske and Taylor (1984), contains information about one's own personality and behaviour, and makes up an easily accessible verbal self concept that guides information processing about self.

There are several criteria for deciding whether someone has a schema (is schematic), or has no schema (is aschematic) on particular dimensions of self concept. For instance, people are likely to be schematic on dimensions that are of personal importance to them, on which they think of themselves as extreme, and on which they are certain that the opposite does not hold true (Markus, 1977). Sandra Bem, whose empirical work on gender identity arose within the framework of Personality Theory, has recently developed a schemata based theoretical model, in order to account for differing perceptions of gender. In her Gender Schema Theory (1979; 1981; 1983) Bem has suggested that peoples' perceptions of their gender can be understood in terms of the extent to which a gender schema is of importance in defining self concept. Thus, sex typed individuals (those who describe themselves as feminine or masculine) are seen to be gender schematic; androgynous individuals (those who describe themselves as feminine and masculine) are seen to be gender aschematic.

On the basis of the above distinctions made between characterization of self as a member of the social group 'mothers', and self description in terms of femininity and/or masculinity in the context of first time motherhood, this study has been divided into two parts. Part One, from the theoretical basis of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1971; 1978; 1979; 1981; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982), investigates womens' construing of their social identity as mothers, as developed from social categorizations that distinguish 'mothers' as a social group

from other groups of women; Part Two looks at gender identity as an aspect of the self concept of women becoming mothers for the first time. Within the theoretical framework of Gender Schema Theory (Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983) gender identity is defined in terms of the way in which feminine and/or masculine characteristics are schematized as a component of self concept.

Finally, in applying a sociocognitive approach to the investigation of womens' construing of themselves in the context of first time motherhood, it must be remembered that prior expectations, developed from previous social experience, will influence constructions of 'self as mother'. These, in their turn, will affect the experience of motherhood itself. Thus, in this thesis, the particular characteristics of, and variations in, social identity and gender identity for women becoming mothers for the first time, will be related to both previous social experience (i.e. work experience, education, etc.) and motherhood outcomes (i.e. satisfaction with motherhood, feelings for the baby).

PART ONE: SOCIAL IDENTITY IN THE
ANTICIPATION AND EXPERIENCE
OF FIRST TIME MOTHERHOOD

CHAPTER 1: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MOTHERHOOD

This chapter develops a theoretical framework for investigating the social identity of women becoming mothers for the first time.

I. The Concept of Social Identity

Tajfel (1978; 1979; 1981), in formulating his concept of social identity, draws on Festinger's (1954; 1957) approach to social cognition. Basically, Festinger suggests that self conceptualizations are formed through the process of social comparison; individuals need to evaluate their opinions and abilities, and in order to do this, they compare themselves with others in the social environment. Whilst accepting that self conceptualization is dependent on the process of social comparison, Tajfel criticizes the interindividual focus of Festinger's approach. He proposes that because the social environment contains collections of groups of individuals, who differ from each other in a variety of ways, an individual not only evaluates herself at an interpersonal level, but also structures the similarities and differences between groups of individuals. This process he refers to as social categorization; it serves to systematize the social world, and enables individuals to define their place within it (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Social identity, as distinct from other aspects of self concept, is based on an internalization of social categorizations; it is the perception of 'self' in terms of social category (or group) membership, in relation to others,

who are also members of particular social categories (Turner, 1982).

Festinger (ibid) in his approach to social cognition, also suggests that the principles guiding an individual's evaluation of 'self' in relation to others, are the need to establish a consistent self image, which is also conducive to positive self evaluation. In relating the principle of positive self evaluation to the construction of a social identity, Tajfel and Turner (1979) assert that individuals strive to achieve a positive social identity by favourably comparing themselves as members of a particular social group, with individuals in other social groups. In the process of social comparison, individuals identify others as sharing a similar social categorization to themselves (the ingroup) and differentiate this group from others, who are dissimilar to themselves (the outgroup). Positive self evaluation as an ingroup member leads to high subjective status or prestige, and positive social identity; negatively discrepant or unfavourable comparisons with outgroup lead to low subjective status and less positive social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). In the latter case, an individual is motivated to achieve a more positive social identity by various means. As Turner (1982) states

"Where the ingroup lacks positive social distinctiveness, members will be motivated either to leave that group physically, or to dissociate from it psychologically, and to aspire to membership of a higher status group and/or develop competitive strategies to restore its positive distinctiveness." (p. 34).

In order for a concise or consistent conceptualization of self as an ingroup member to be formed, Tajfel (1978) suggests that both ingroup and outgroup must be comparable on the same salient dimensions. Salient dimensions, used in the process of social categorization, are likely to be those of most importance for ingroup identification. Tajfel and Wilkes (1964) have shown that it is the most frequently used dimensions, when distinguishing between a set of objects or people, that are of most salience or subjective importance, and judgements along these dimensions tend to be more polarized. When subjects were required to rate photographs on scales based on attributes elicited from their own free descriptions, they gave more extreme or polarized ratings on the more salient, that is, the most frequently used dimensions, than the less salient dimensions. Relating this to the process of social categorization, Tajfel (1978) proposes that there will be a tendency to exaggerate differences on the salient dimensions, between individuals falling into distinct social categories, and to minimize differences within these categories; in other words, to accentuate intraclass similarities and interclass differences.

II. 'Mothers' as a Social Group

The assumptions of Social Identity Theory will now be considered in terms of their usefulness in providing a framework for understanding the characteristics of, and changes in, the social identity of women becoming mothers for the first time.

Studies applying Social Identity Theory to women, generally assume that 'women' constitute a homogenous social group. Social identity is thus derived from gender group identification, that is evaluation of self as a member of the social category 'women', as distinct from the social category 'men' (e.g. Williams and Giles, 1978; Breakwell, 1979; Condor, 1983; 1984).

Williams and Giles (1978) propose that women constitute a minority group in society; they do not derive a positive social identity from affiliation with this group, since in comparison with men, the superior group, group membership is associated with negative characteristics and inferior status. As Tajfel (1978) has suggested, if group membership does not contribute to positive aspects of social identity, an individual will tend to leave the group, or, if this is impossible, various strategies will be used to achieve positive distinctiveness. If group members consider their low status to be fair and legitimate, they may strive to achieve a positive self image by individual means, comparing their individual positions with ingroup members rather than with the superior group. If low status is consensually perceived to be unjust, group members may strive to achieve a positive social identity by collective action. This may take the form of assimilating culturally and psychologically into the superior group, in order to gain equality with this group on relevant characteristics, or it may involve redefining previously negatively valued characteristics in a more positive direction, or creating new dimensions, not previously used in relevant

intergroup comparisons, on which the group may try to assume a positive social identity in relation to the other.

Williams and Giles (1978) in pointing to the fact that women cannot leave their social group, illustrate the ways in which these strategies have been used by women to establish a more positive social identity. Thus women who accept their low status as fair and legitimate may attempt by individual means to gain a positive self image. An example of this is given as women who define their status in relation to their husband's occupation and position, rather than their own, and by devoting their efforts to improving his social status, thereby enhance their own self image. In contrast, women who perceive their status to be unfair or unjust have been prompted to collective group action (i.e. the Womens Liberation Movement) in order to establish positive distinctiveness for their group. For instance, they have attempted to minimize the difference between themselves and men by establishing equality in working conditions, and in legal and political terms. Also they have emphasized the distinctive characteristics of their groups by pursuing a deliberate policy of non hierarchical organization, as opposed to stratification on a leadership basis.

The main problem with the approach of Williams and Giles (1978) lies in the assignment of an unsatisfactory social identity per se to the social category of womanhood. This is derived from consideration of the relative objective or ideological status of men and

women in society. However, no empirical evidence is provided to show either that women perceive themselves as members of a minority group, or that they see 'women' as a low status group in relation to men, and thus derive an unsatisfactory social identity from group membership.

In contrast, Condor (1983; 1984) and Condor and Abrams (1984) suggest that, in order to understand the meaning of womanhood as a social category membership, it is essential to examine womens' perceptions of themselves as group members. Furthermore, in her examination of the meaning of group membership for women, Condor proposes that perceptions of the objective economic or power relations between men and women are not necessarily the sole criteria used for categorization on the basis of sex group membership. Rather, there exists the "possibility of perceiving women to constitute a group on the basis of some other shared characteristic, for example, as a homogenous biological category" (1983, p. 8). On the basis of this assumption, she makes the distinction between group identification (a sense of collective self with respect to other women), and sex group ideology (political attitudes concerning the relationship between men and women in society) and sets out to explore the relationship between the two, using two measures. A sex group identification scale contained items "pertaining to feelings of loyalty and to empathy and solidarity with other women" (1983, p. 11). A sex role ideology scale included "statements articulating an acceptance or rejection of the sex role status quo" (1983, p. 11).

Maximum likelihood factor analysis of responses from these scales, for a sample of 540 women (mean age 40), revealed that responses to the two scales fell on separate, uncorrelated factors. Thus Condor's prediction was confirmed; the extent of identification with the social category 'women' was not dependent on perceptions of the differential status, power and wealth between men and women in society. In addition to this finding, Condor's results cast doubt on the assumption of Williams and Giles (1978) that women, as members of a minority group, perceived themselves as low status in relation to men, and thus derived an unsatisfactory social identity from group membership. Using sex group identification and sex group ideology as independent and orthogonal variables, Condor classified the respondents in terms of levels of group identification (high/low) and direction of sex role ideology (traditional/radical). By doing this, she located four possible combinations of responses on the two scales; women who identified with their group (high sex group identification) and accepted the sex role status quo (traditional attitudes towards the role of men and women in society); women who identified with their group and rejected the sex role status quo (radical attitudes towards the role of women and men in society); women who did not identify with their group (low sex group identification) and accepted the sex role status quo and women who did not identify with their group and rejected the sex role status quo. In examining the responses of women who supported the sex role status quo, in conjunction with other measures of self

concept, Condor found that these women did not necessarily perceive their group to be of low status in relation to men. This, she speculated, may have been because these women failed to recognize the minority status of their group. Rather status was conceptualized as being shared by women and men within the marital relationship and not as arising from differential status, power and wealth between women and men in society. Thus, Condor and Abrams (1984) suggest that

"If we accept that traditional women do not necessarily perceive their sex to be a low status group, there is no reason why they should avoid identification with this group. In fact, given that they perceive the traditional feminine role positively, identification with their sex may provide women with a highly satisfactory social identity" (p. 8).

Also, Condor found that, while perceptions of the relative status of men and women in society were not predictive of the extent of sex group identification, self perception in terms of stereotypically feminine characteristics was strongly associated with sex group identification, whilst self perception in terms of masculine characteristics was associated with sex role radicalism. For instance, women who identified with their group and accepted the sex role status quo, described themselves as high in femininity and low in masculinity; women who identified with their group, but rejected the sex role status quo, described themselves as relatively high in femininity and masculinity; those who did not identify with their group and rejected the sex role status quo, used masculine and not feminine characteristics in self description and women who did not identify with their group and accepted the

sex role status quo, described themselves as relatively low in femininity and masculinity. Thus both the extent of sex group identification and the direction of sex role ideology did appear to be related to womens' perceptions of themselves as members of a homogenous biological category (i.e. as feminine or masculine).

However, the question that arises from both the work of Williams and Giles (1978) and that of Condor (1983; 1984) is whether it is appropriate to view social identity for women as being defined by membership of a homogenous sex group. Tajfel and Fraser (1978) have suggested that "an understanding of the social context of cognition requires an analysis of the relations between the contents of cognition and changes in these cognitions as they interact with changes in man and his social environment" (p. 303). In applying this general observation, it is argued in this study that social identity for women may be best understood as arising from the particular nature of their social activity within contemporary British society. For instance, the social identity of a woman who has worked for a number of years and gained personal satisfaction and prestige from this activity, may be very different from the social identity of a mother, who is caring for her children at home, and gains satisfaction and prestige from motherhood. From this basis, it is suggested that women should be regarded as a heterogenous social group and that the social identity of women can be defined by looking at social comparison between groups of women, rather than assuming that men provide the relevant comparison group. Thus, it seems plausible to suggest

that women becoming mothers for the first time identify with 'mothers' as a social group, as distinct from 'working women', rather than 'men'.

In conceptualizing 'mothers' as a specific social group of women, we need to be able to define the distinguishing characteristics of social identity derived from group membership. This involves identifying the salient dimensions used by women to characterize 'mothers' as a social category in comparison with other categories of women (e.g. working women). As was pointed out earlier, Condor (1983; 1984) found that women's perception of their gender (i.e. self description in terms of femininity/masculinity) were of importance in defining social identity derived from sex group membership. However, there is no reason to suppose that gender distinctions should be salient in the characterization of 'mothers' as a specific social category of women, particularly if we assume that social identity as a mother is established by comparison with the other groups of women, rather than men. Rather, for mothers, it is suggested that the salient dimensions defining social category membership may be more task related, that is, they will reflect the qualitative and social aspects of mothering as an activity, as compared with the qualitative and social aspects of working.

Also, in examining motherhood as a social category membership, we need to identify the factors that are most likely to explain

the extent of ingroup identification, and the degree of positivity of social identity derived from ingroup membership. Condor (1984) has cast some doubt on the assumption of Social Identity Theory, that it is the perceived status relations between groups that underpins the extent of ingroup identification and the positivity of social identity derived from group membership. Perhaps it is necessary therefore to look to the broader sociocognitive principles underlying Social Identity Theory, in order to identify some alternative explanatory factors. Firstly, the process of social categorization serves to systematize the social world; by actively processing information about collections or groups of individuals, people are able to define their place within the world, and choose between different courses of action within it. (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). One of the distinguishing features of 'mothers' as a social group, when compared with 'women', is choice of group membership. Women are able to choose whether to become mothers or not, and the time in their lives when they would prefer to take on this activity. Thus it is suggested that the extent to which motherhood is a chosen activity, that is whether pregnancy was planned or unplanned, will reflect womens' interpretations of what it means to be a mother in comparison with other social categories (e.g. working women). These, in turn, will influence the extent of ingroup identification and the positivity of social identity derived from group membership.

The work of Skevington (1980; 1981; 1984) lends substance to the view that choice is a variable which influences the extent to which people might derive positive social identity from group membership. In her studies of the intergroup relations between high status SRN's (State Registered Nurses) and low status SEN's (State Enrolled Nurses) Skevington used a measure containing subjective characteristics relevant to nurses, which both groups were required to rate in terms of their application to 'ingroup', 'outgroup' and 'self'. Skevington found that for SRN's, self and ingroup subjective ratings were almost identical, indicating a highly positive social identity, whereas for SEN's ingroup and self ratings differed significantly, indicating a less positive social identity. In addition she found that both groups, when questioned about the advantages and disadvantages of group membership, attributed more advantages to the SRN's. Positive social identity, and attribution of advantages to groups she suggested, were associated with the degree of choice established in relation to nurse training. SRN's chose their training on the basis of extensive formal qualifications, whereas SEN's had less choice at the outset because of fewer qualifications. This difference was reinforced by greater choice for SRN's, once qualified, both in their daily work and opportunities for further training.

Given this relationship between greater choice of group membership and a more positive social identity, it is assumed in this study, that women who have planned their pregnancies will have a more positive social identity as mothers, when compared with those

who have not made a conscious decision to become pregnant.

Another sociocognitive principle underlying Social Identity Theory is that individuals' ideas about themselves are generated through social interaction within particular social contexts. Thus, the social categorizations used to characterize 'mothers' as a social group, and internalized to form the basis of social identity as a mother, are developed from, and will vary in relation to, women's actual social experience within a particular culture. The nature of a woman's social experience prior to motherhood (e.g. her experience at work, in the family, etc.) is therefore likely to influence the extent of ingroup identification with 'mothers' as a social category and the positivity of social identity derived from group membership. Furthermore, if we assume as Tajfel (1978) does, that there is a reciprocal (or dialectical) relationship between cognition and social experience, then it seems reasonable to suggest that mothers' conceptualizations of their social category membership, will, in their turn, affect the experience of motherhood itself.

Summary

In this study, it is suggested that within the framework of Social Identity Theory, women should be regarded as a heterogeneous, rather than a homogenous social group, and that social identity as a woman, rather than being based on gender group identification, arises from the particular nature of a woman's

activity within the social context. This implies that, in examining the intergroup relations of women, social identity as a mother is based on the salient dimensions (or social categorizations) distinguishing 'mothers' from other groups of women, rather than being established from social comparison with men. Furthermore, it is suggested that the extent of group identification and the positivity of social identity as a mother may be explained by choice of group membership and previous social experience, rather than resting solely on perceived status relations between the ingroup 'mothers' and relevant comparison outgroups. Also it would be expected that mothers' conceptions of their social group membership will influence their experience of motherhood itself.

III. Issues Relating to the Measurement of Social Identity

In order to investigate the construction of social identity as a mother, a means of identifying the salient dimensions (or social categorizations) women use to compare mothers as a social group with other groups of women, is required. Also we need a means of assessing the extent to which self is identified with the ingroup 'mothers' and whether this membership is positively or negatively valued.

In relation to these criteria, the problem with measures of social identity already discussed (e.g. Condor, 1983; Skevington, 1981) is that they are limited in their ability to comment on womens' active construction of their group membership. They use

lists of provided characteristics to assess perceptions of group membership, rather than looking at the constructs women themselves use to characterize ingroup as distinct from outgroup, and the extent to which these are applied in self description. For instance, Condor (1984) used responses to provided items on a sex group identification scale and a sex role ideology scale to assess womens' sex group identification and ideology. Skevington (1981) derived her measure of the positivity of social identity for groups of State Registered Nurses and State Enrolled Nurses, by comparing ratings of 'ingroup', 'outgroup' and 'self' from a list of the subjective characteristics relevant to nurses.

The measures used in these studies reflect the general lack of a quantitative measure of social identity, which probes peoples' construing of themselves as group members, and the subjective importance of ingroup identification. As Brown and Williams (1982) have pointed out, whilst much empirical work using the framework of Social Identity Theory has focused on various aspects of inter-group behaviour, little attention has been paid to investigating the nature of social identity, and to developing a quantitative measure of identification. However, the method they developed to fill this gap, and which they applied to an investigation of the nature of group identification for workers in a small bread factory, lacked clarity for the subjects, and thus failed to elicit the information they were seeking. Group identification for four groups of workers within the factory (bakery workers, wholesale workers, maintenance workers and office workers) was examined

by use of a modified version of the TST (Twenty Statements Test; Kuhn and McPartland, 1954). In this, subjects are asked repeatedly 'who am I', and their answers are content analysed for evidence of personal or consensual (i.e. social) identity referents. The subjective importance of ingroup identification can then be ascertained by asking subjects to rank their responses on the TST.

Not surprisingly, respondents were confused about the task required of them, and only a few social identity referents occurred in their responses (only 5 out of 342 responses referred to any group or job category inside the factory). Thus a card was provided for the subjects representing their group membership (i.e. job category) so that the relative importance of ingroup identification could be ranked in relation to other responses on the TST. The distribution of scores from this ranking procedure was skewed, with a larger number of respondents scoring zero (indicating that ingroup was placed last in the list of importance). In view of this uneven distribution, and the problem of respondents' comprehension of the measure, Brown and Williams were not satisfied that it provided an adequate measure of social identification. They located its inadequacy in the fact that it failed to focus the respondents' attention on the task in hand, and thus confused and baffled them. They found that other measures used in the study, which were less open ended, more effectively tapped ingroup identification. For instance, rating of self on a seven point scale, in terms of how strongly an individual identified with her group, provided an indication of the relative importance of ingroup identification.

The implications of Brown and Williams findings for this study are twofold. Firstly, in measuring social identity in the context of first time motherhood, it is important to specify the particular ingroup we are concerned with (i.e. mothers) and the relevant comparison outgroups. Secondly, from their review of empirical studies using Social Identity Theory, it would seem that a definitive measure of social identity, which elicits from respondents the dimensions they use to characterize ingroup in comparison with outgroup, and the extent to which these are salient for self description, is not in evidence.

A method which does allow for examination of the way in which people both identify with, and construe themselves in relation to others, is repertory grid technique (Kelly, 1955). The reasons why this methodology is considered to be appropriate for measuring social identity are now discussed.

IV. Social Identity, Personal Construct Theory, and Repertory

Grid Technique

Repertory grid technique as a methodology, is inextricably linked to the theoretical premises of Personal Construct Theory (Kelly, 1955). This theory has in common with sociocognitive psychology the basic principle that individuals actively organize and interpret their experience, in order to make sense of the world in which they live.

Kelly (1955) asserts that people actively structure their worlds by the successive construing of events. By this means, a

system of personal constructs is built up. This system is comprised of a finite number of bipolar constructs, each of which has a pole of affirmation along with a negative pole. Its organization is hierarchical, that is some constructs are superordinate in the system and others subordinate. Also each construct is seen to be appropriate for construing a finite range of events only (its range of convenience). The focus of convenience for a construct is the event from, or for which it was originally developed. The construct system functions as a means of interpreting events; the process of interpretation can be likened to hypothesis testing. As Snyder and Ganestad (1981) point out, in construing events, people form hypotheses about reality and deduce from these patterns that are to be expected; they actively seek out and collect data relevant to testing these hypotheses, and a change in the construct system arises as a result of validation or not, of these predictions. Validation, as defined by Kelly (1955) marks the compatibility between predictions and observed outcomes; the constructs on which the original prediction was based are most likely to be influenced and/or changed by validation experiences.

Thus Personal Construct Theory assumes that people actively generate from their experience a hierarchically ordered system of bipolar constructs, which is used as the basis for interpreting and predicting their experience, and which is changed by validation or invalidation, in the light of experience itself. Personal construction is therefore a product of, and at the same time a determinant of, experience. We construe in order to interpret

experience, and we understand these interpretations by experiencing.

In order to investigate the way in which people construe their experience, and attribute meaning to the events that occur in their lives, Kelly(1955) developed repertory grid technique. This was designed on the basis of a list of people to compare (the elements of the grid) and a list of terms used in this process of comparison (the bipolar constructs). The first list was systematically compared with the second, and a grid of figures generated (Ryle, 1975). From this grid, information could be gained about the way in which an individual saw herself in relation to others (the elements of the grid) and the dimensions used to compare and contrast others with self (the constructs). Deriving its orientation from Personal Construct Theory, the basic assumption underlying the use of repertory grid technique was that each person differs from another in her interpretation of events. The technique was elaborated by Kelly in relation to the therapeutic situation; he assumed that, by understanding the way in which an individual interpreted her own behaviour, it would be possible to change ways of construing events, and therefore to change behaviour.

Thus, in the context of the event of first time motherhood, repertory grid technique could be used to investigate the personal meaning of motherhood for each woman, by looking at individual differences in construing of 'self as mother'. It is argued in this study however, that it is also possible to use this technique to investigate the social identity of motherhood, as

based on shared or consensual constructions of 'self as mother'.

First of all, looking more closely at repertory grid technique, it is clear that construing of self is established through the process of social comparison, that is, evaluation of self in relation to others. Kelly's original Rep test (1955) consisted of a list of nineteen figures, including self, which were systematically compared and contrasted with one another, and in relation to self. From this process, bipolar constructs were elicited. Moreover, as Stringer (1979) suggests:

"The process of nominating individuals to be construed in the Rep Test, on the basis of role titles or other social categories, could be seen as a means of having subjects construe others in relation to some kind of social context." (p. 110).

Thus, if the figures, or elements of the grid can be seen to represent social roles or categories, then it becomes possible to examine the construing of self in relation to mothers as a social category, and as distinct from other social categories of women. The question arising from this, is can the bipolar constructs derived from this process of social comparison, be regarded as the dimensions used to define social category membership?

Kelly, although emphasizing the uniqueness of each individual's construct system, also acknowledged that shared meanings could be generated from experience. In the Commonality corollary of his theory, he suggests that peoples' construction of events may be similar in certain circumstances. For instance, in regarding individuals as members of social groups he states that:-

"People belong to the same cultural group, not merely because they behave alike, not because they expect the same things of others, but because they construe their experience in the same way." (1955, p. 94).

In other words, membership of a social group involves the use of shared dimensions of construction, in interpreting experience. Thus, it is suggested that the bipolar constructs elicited in the process of social comparison, can be seen to be the dimensions used to identify self with similar others, as members of the same social category (the ingroup), and to distinguish members of the ingroup from dissimilar others, or members of a different social category (the outgroup).

In applying the principle of dimensional salience (see p.9) in this context, it is argued that the constructs most frequently elicited from subjects by repertory grid technique, are those of most salience or subjective importance in defining social category membership. From the same principle, it would be expected that judgements along these dimensions would be more polarized, than on dimensions of less subjective importance. Because of the need to derive positive social identity from ingroup membership, therefore, it could be predicted that self and similar others (the ingroup) would be construed using more extreme judgements towards the positive poles of salient dimensions, and that dissimilar others (the outgroup) would be construed using more extreme judgements towards the contrastive poles of the same salient dimensions, thus demonstrating the accentuation of intra-class similarities and interclass differences.

Thus repertory grid technique can be used to examine the construing of social identity as a mother; it provides a means of measuring the degree to which women identify with 'mothers' as a social category, and of eliciting the salient dimensions used by women themselves to distinguish 'mothers' from other categories of women. Also, using Kelly's hypothesis-testing model of process, it is possible to look at the extent to which construed social identity as a mother is compatible with observed motherhood outcomes (i.e. satisfaction with motherhood, feelings for the baby).

In order to account for variations in the extent of identification with 'mothers' as an ingroup, and the positive or negative value attached to ingroup membership, it is necessary to depart from Kelly's (1955) view of the relationship between construing and social experience. For, as Janovisek (1972) points out, in the interaction between cognition and experience, Kelly views the social environment as something that can be examined from the point of view of individual participants, by understanding how they interpret those aspects of society they experience. Thus differences in individuals' construing of events are dependent upon their interpretation of experience, rather than the actual nature of their experience, as it occurs within particular social contexts. However, as has been discussed earlier (p. 19), within the framework of Social Identity Theory, the content of cognition is viewed as a product of a person acting upon, and within particular (and definable) social contexts. The nature of the social context is therefore important in accounting for variations in the content

of cognition. Thus, if the experience of first time motherhood is placed within the social context of womens' lives, then social factors (i.e. work experience, educational level, planning etc.) can be used to account for variations in identification with the ingroup 'mother', the salient dimensions along which this is construed, and the degree of positivity of social identity derived from ingroup membership.

From the discussion in this section, the following theoretical proposals have been formulated:

Proposal A: In anticipating the event of motherhood, social identity as a mother, and the dimensions along which it is construed can be defined by use of repertory grid technique. The extent to which women subjectively identify with the ingroup 'mothers' can be measured by distance between self and other elements on a repertory grid; the salient dimensions along which motherhood is construed can be taken as the most frequently used bipolar constructs derived from comparing elements on the repertory grid, and the use of these dimensions to differentiate self and similar others (the ingroup) from relevant outgroups.

Proposal B: The extent to which social identity as a mother is construed as positive, will be related to antecedent social factors (e.g. planning, previous work experience, etc.). The degree of positivity of social identity can be measured by the extent to which 'self' is subjectively identified with ingroup, and

described using more extreme judgements on the positive poles of salient dimensions.

Proposal C: Given Kelly's (1955) propositions about the use of constructs as the basis for hypothesizing about, and thus predicting, experience, and the validation or invalidation of these predictions in the light of experience itself, it is expected that the experience of motherhood will be either validating or invalidating of a hypothetical social identity as a mother, established in pregnancy. It is supposed that validation in early motherhood will increase the emotional significance of ingroup identification, leading to accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences (from Tajfel, 1978), as measured by greater polarization of judgements on salient dimensions. In contrast, invalidation will lead to less differentiation between ingroup and outgroup, or identification with outgroup.

CHAPTER II: SOCIAL IDENTITY AS A MOTHER; its characteristics and
variation in relation to previous social experience
and the experience of motherhood itself.

Introduction

In this chapter, studies which place the experience of pregnancy and early motherhood within the developmental and/or social context of womens' lives are examined. These studies are used as a basis for exploring the relevant social comparisons and salient dimensions of construction that underlie subjective identification with the social category of motherhood. Also discussed is the extent to which the degree of positive social identity associated with ingroup membership varies in relation to previous social experience and social choice, and is predictive of, and/or changed by, the experience of motherhood itself

1. Becoming a Mother: A Developmental Approach

The definitive study, in looking at the construing of motherhood (by use of repertory grid methodology) in relation to the experience of the event itself, is that of Breen (1975), whose approach evolved from the conception of motherhood as a 'developmental crisis'.

The notion of pregnancy and childbirth as a developmental crisis derives largely from the psychoanalytic school of thought.

Bibring (1959) defines developmental crises as:

"turning points in the life of the individual leading to acute disequilibria, which under favourable conditions,

result in specific 'maturation' steps towards new functions. We find them as developmental phenomena at points of no return between one phase and the next when decisive changes deprive former central needs and modes of living of their significance, forcing the acceptance of highly charged new goals." (p. 119).

Thus the characteristics of becoming a mother that derive from this approach emphasize the possibility of growth or maturational development, which involve necessary change in ideas and lifestyle.

Because of the basis of the approach in psychoanalytic theory, becoming a mother is seen as in essence a biological event, which necessitates psychological adjustment or adaptation, this usually taking place on an intrapersonal level and involving a change in self image and identification with others, particularly the mother and husband. For instance, Ballou (1978) sees the task of pregnancy from an object relational point of view, as rearranging the sense of self, and identifications with mother and husband in order to accommodate a new person.

Endemic in the notion of crisis as used in this model, is the idea of its successful resolution as leading to 'adaptation' or 'adjustment' to motherhood, either being considered as necessary steps in the developmental sequence, upon which further maturation rests. Cohler et al (1970) in their study looking at childcare attitudes and emotional disturbance of women in early motherhood, illustrate this in the following passage:

"Motherhood may be viewed as a series of developmental tasks, each of which represents, for the mother herself, a unique crisis or conflict which must be resolved in an adaptive manner, in order for further maturation to take place." (p. 5).

The authors of this study conclude that failure to adapt to the tasks of motherhood and to resolve issues relating to child-care may result in maternal breakdown and hospitalization.

Breen (1975) used the 'developmental crisis' approach as a basis from which to structure her conception of motherhood; she suggested that becoming a mother was a 'biosocial' event, which although based as a process in biological change, necessitated "cognitive, emotional and social reappraisal and restructuring" (p. 9), and which could be seen as a crisis, but only to the extent that a woman was confronted with "an objective, important and irreversible event" (p. 8), which required immediate action.

Development was seen in terms of the models of Erikson and Piaget, in which maturation or growth occurs as a result of the dialectical interaction between an individual and her environment; however, Breen felt that although it was necessary to conceptualize change during motherhood as a dialectical process, 'maturation' or 'growth' was not an integral part of adjustment to it. Also, adjustment was seen, not in terms of the symptomatology or disturbance that accrues from not resolving developmental tasks, but in terms of exploring the processes involved in 'healthy' adjustment, which was defined as follows:

"the healthy woman is the one who can modify perception of herself and her relationship with members of her family in a way which is congruent with the new situation of having a child" (p. 59)

In order to understand the relationship between women's perceptions of, and adjustment to motherhood, she used a Personal Construct

Theory approach (Kelly, 1955), to explain the processes by which people construe their experience, using repertory grid methodology to operationalize the psychoanalytic conception of psychological change in motherhood, as involving the restructuring of perceptions of self in relation to mother and husband.

In her longitudinal study of fifty first time mothers, who were interviewed at 3-4 months prepartum, ten weeks prepartum and ten weeks postpartum, she designed her grid on the premise that a good adjustment to motherhood resulted from identification with the image of a positively valued mother, and a consequent positive valuing of self as mother, as well as distancing self from husband, as roles became more differentiated. These similarities and differences were measured in terms of distance of 'self' from the elements 'mother', 'husband' and 'ideal mother' on the repertory grid. In addition, Breen looked at the dimensions along which motherhood was construed, by categorizing the content of constructs elicited by comparison of elements on each interview occasion and thus identifying the characteristics and overall patterns of construing, and changes occurring over the period. A 'maternal construct' was also elicited separately by asking the subjects what they felt the most important quality for a mother was; this remained constant throughout the interviews, and a 'maternal dimension' was defined in relation to it, for each interview occasion, by looking at the number and content of constructs connected with it (as measured by the correlation of other constructs to the maternal construct in the repertory grid matrix).

Breen divided her sample into two groups, 'well adjusted' and 'ill adjusted' on the basis of a combination of three criteria; physiological problems in pregnancy and childbirth, feelings of depression and anxiety, and feelings towards the baby. Her results showed that women in the 'well adjusted' group tended to perceive their own mothers positively after the birth of their babies, and thus to value themselves as mothers. This was indicated by seeing themselves as more similar to their own mothers postpartum, if they were 'good' mothers, and less similar if they were 'bad' mothers. Valuing themselves as mothers was indicated by closer identification with an 'ideal' mother figure. The opposite was the case for the 'ill adjusted' group. The women in the 'well adjusted' group also perceived a greater dissimilarity between self and husband postpartum, and again, the opposite was the case for the 'ill adjusted' group.

In looking at dimensions of construing, Breen found that the maternal dimension was comprised of qualities of understanding, loving, caring and unselfishness, patience and tolerance, as well as an emphasis on home and child orientation and the responsibility that came with being a mother. However, contrary to her own hypothesis, she found that it was the women in the 'ill adjusted' group who used more constructs on the maternal dimension postpartum, and that the 'well adjusted' group tended to emphasize qualities such as hardworking and reliable, which were more task related. Breen explained this finding by suggesting that the 'ill adjusted' group were preoccupied with the culturally defined idea of motherliness, whereas the 'well

adjusted' women tended to see motherhood in more realistic, and less idealistic terms.

From analysis of the content of constructs on the total grid, she found that other dimensions of construing about motherhood were the levels of social interaction it involved, (e.g. sociable , shy, etc.), emotional state (e.g. easygoing, good humoured, anxious, tense, moody, quicktempered), level of self sufficiency, (e.g. independent, mature, self reliant) and financial concerns. For both 'adjustment' groups she found that the constructs most subject to change were those relating to moodiness and quick temper, which increased postpartum.

Thus Breen's work would suggest that positive evaluation of self as a mother, as displayed by the 'well adjusted' group, is characterized by identification of 'self' and own mother with an 'ideal' mother image, and that this is accompanied by a restructuring of the mothering role in terms of dimensions reflecting a more task related orientation. Marcos (1979) in identifying the meanings of motherhood for a group of eighty French women experiencing their first pregnancy, also found that identification with own mother and other women in maternal roles was associated with the attribution of more positive meanings to the experience of motherhood.

Also, Breen's (1975) study suggested that a less positive evaluation of self as mother, as displayed by the 'ill adjusted' group is characterized by less identification of self and own mother with an ideal mother image, and construing of motherhood along dimensions suggestive of the more abstract or 'culturally defined', (as Breen has put

it) qualities associated with motherhood, for instance, understanding, unselfish, etc.

The problems with Breen's analysis, in drawing these conclusions about differing patterns of identification and construction for the 'well adjusted' and 'ill adjusted' groups, in the context of motherhood as a biosocial event, is that she does not systematically relate patterns of identification to the salient dimensions on which they are construed; therefore it is not clear in what terms 'self as mother' is evaluated in relation to similar or dissimilar others. For instance, for the 'well adjusted' group, it is difficult to ascertain whether 'self', 'ideal mother' and 'your mother' are all described using more task orientated constructs in the postpartum period, suggesting a restructuring of the mothering role, or whether 'self' is differentiated from these similar others by use of these constructs. Similarly with the 'ill adjusted' group it is not clear whether, in seeing 'self' as less similar to 'ideal mother' the more 'culturally defined' constructs were applied to both these elements, or whether 'ideal mother' was described on the positive poles of these constructs and 'self' on the contrastive ones.

Therefore, it is considered that if event outcomes, that is 'adjustment' to motherhood in Breen's study, are to be related to evaluation of 'self as mother' by use of repertory grid methodology, the basis of this evaluation has to be understood in terms of both how 'self'

is defined in relation to similar others (the ingroup mother) and also as distinct from dissimilar others (relevant outgroups). This leads on to a further point about the way in which Breen conceptualizes motherhood as a 'social' event.

As was discussed earlier, in relation to a Personal Construct Theory approach, (p. 28), social reality is represented by thought rather than existing as a definable entity, separate from peoples' interpretations of it. Thus, in Breen's study, the 'social' is represented by, and defined in relation to womens' construing of family members and mother figures, rather than these representations being considered in relation to the social context in which motherhood arises, that is, within the context of womens' lives as they are lived within a particular society. If conclusions are to be drawn about the 'cultural definition' of motherhood and the association of these constructions will 'ill adjustment', it is suggested that these conclusions would be better substantiated from looking at womens' *active* evaluation of themselves as social category members (that is, of the 'cultural' category 'mother') in relation to their particular social experience within that culture.

Thus, in order to define more clearly the social basis of evaluation of 'self as mother', in terms of the characteristic patterns of identification and salient dimensions of construction used to distinguish 'mothers' from other groups of women (i.e. the relevant comparison 'outgroups'), it is necessary next to look at studies which place the experience of motherhood itself within the context of women's social experience.

II. Becoming a Mother - A Psychosocial Transition

Models of pregnancy and motherhood as a psychosocial transition have a similar basis to Breen's (1975) approach in that motherhood is regarded as a stage in a woman's life, which is associated with changes in the 'assumptive world', this being comparable to a personal construct system. The assumptive world, as Parkes (1971) points out, is built up on the basis of past experiences in carrying out our purposes in the world and contains a model of the world as it is, and as it might be; it is part of the totality of 'life space'. The notion of a 'life space' arises from Lewin's Field Theory (1936) and consists of the whole of psychological reality, the totality of possible facts that determine an individual's behaviour. Psychosocial transitions (e.g. bereavement, marriage, birth, divorce, career change etc.) are seen as a discontinuity in a person's 'life space', which necessitates major restructuring of the assumptive world (Adams, Hayes and Hopson, 1976), the extent to which a model of the event has already been built up, or the event anticipated in the assumptive world, affecting the management of the event, and thus the smoothness of the transition. Therefore, like Personal Construct Theory, the meaning of an experience is understood in terms of a set of assumptions about the world that people have built up from their past experience, and which they use as a basis from which to anticipate new experience. The difference in the psychosocial transition model from Breen's (1975) approach, is that the meaning of motherhood is derived from the nature of

interaction with, and interrelationships between, family and friends. Thus the form of social relationships a woman has, are considered to account for variations in the construing and experience of motherhood.

(a) Social Relationships and the Construing and Experience of Motherhood

Gladieux's (1978) study provides a good example of this orientation; focusing on pregnancy as marking a transition from non-motherhood to motherhood, the purpose of her study was to look at how interpersonal interaction with husband, friends, and relatives influenced subjective feelings about pregnancy as a positive and satisfying experience, and expectations about motherhood. A woman's social relationships were defined by using Bott's (1957) concept of a social network as reflecting varying degrees of 'tightness' or 'looseness'; a tight network links the target family with friends and relatives who maintain multiple connections amongst themselves, whereas a loose knit network was found amongst families who had recently or frequently moved. These were characterized by infrequent contact with relatives, and by friendships with people who tended not to see, or even know each other. Bott herself found that women whose social networks reflected tight or loose knittedness varied in their approaches to motherhood; women in tight knit networks accepted childrearing as a natural and rewarding part of a woman's life, and found support from the female members of the network in caring for children; these women intended to work outside the home only if financially necessary. In contrast, mothers in loose knit net-

works found childcare a burden, and arranged for outside help with this in order to continue work, or were anticipating returning to work when children started school.

Gladieux (1978) defined the degree of 'tight' or 'loose' knittedness of a woman's social network by use of a Social Network Form, which provided information about the four friends or relatives most frequently seen or with whom they had most contact, the frequency of contact with these people, proximity of residence, and length of time the relationship had been established, as well as the extent to which women confided in these people, and the degree of support they felt their social network provided.

This information was related to responses on a Pregnancy Satisfaction rating form, which contained items about the subjects' feelings about themselves, their spouses, their adaptation to pregnancy and their outlook to the future, and also to sex role attitudes, as measured by a Sex Role Ideology scale, and rated judgements of the modernity or traditionalism of subjects' attitudes as conveyed in their taped interviews.

From Gladieux's (1978) interviews of 26 married American couples, undergoing their first pregnancy, which were conducted at 10-12 weeks, 24-26 weeks and 3-4 weeks before birth, she found that differing patterns of social relationships were associated with sex role conceptions, subjective experience of pregnancy and expected satisfaction with motherhood. Women whose social

relationships were characterized by loose knittedness that is, by infrequent contact with relatives and by friendships with people who did not know each other, tended to have social networks composed of friends who were less likely to have children, and to have infrequent and poor quality relationships with their own mothers; these women also tended to be more highly educated, have higher status jobs, and modern sex role conceptions. In relationship to the experience of pregnancy and early motherhood, she found that women in this group ran more risk of being dissatisfied with pregnancy, their ultimate satisfaction being linked to high standing on the dimension of control and autonomy; they were also more likely to doubt whether motherhood would be fulfilling. In contrast to this, women whose social relationships were characterized by tight knittedness that is, by relatives and friends maintaining multiple connections amongst themselves, were more likely to be ensconced within a close knit network of friends and relatives who were parents, to be less highly educated, with lower status jobs, and to have more traditional sex role conceptions. In relationship to the experience of pregnancy and early motherhood, they were more certain to have a satisfying and low anxiety pregnancy, and feel valued and confident in this period, and also more likely to anticipate that motherhood would be fulfilling.

Similarly, Abernethy (1973b) in looking at the relationship between social network and the experience of motherhood itself, for forty one mothers who had at least one preschool child, found that social network formation was significantly related to sense

of competence as a mother, as reflecting the sense of competence and frustration in negotiation with children, and that frequency of contact with own mother was the strongest single predictor of this. If a woman was embedded in a tight knit network, she was likely to have confidence in her maternal competence, which derived from a range of factors, from actual sharing of responsibilities, to "on an emotional level, the support derived from consensual validation of child rearing practices and reinforcement of social identity" (p. 91). In contrast, women in loose knit networks expressed comparatively more frustration, and a lesser feeling of competence in childcare.

Thus, from these studies, it is possible to begin to define how self evaluation as a mother relates to identification with similar others within a social context, and its affect on the experience of pregnancy and motherhood. For instance, it could be deduced from the social network data that evaluation of 'self' as a mother is dependent on identification with own mother and friends as similar others, women who perceive themselves to be closer to their own mother and friends, having more traditional ideas about the role of women in society, and lower occupational and educational status.

In contrast, it is assumed that women who express a less positive evaluation of themselves, in relation to pregnancy, and competence in childcare, see themselves as less similar

to own mother and friends; these women are more likely to have modern views about a woman's role in society, and higher educational and occupational status.

Thus, rather than grouping women by a criterion of 'adjustment' to motherhood as Breen (1975) does, and examining differing identifications and constructions of motherhood in relation to an 'adjustment' measure derived from postpartum experience, it is possible from this data to see that women fall into 'natural' groups in relation to their social experience, from which predictions can be generated about their degree of subjective identification with the social category 'mother', the dimensions on which this is defined, and how this is associated with particular experiences of pregnancy and motherhood.

Therefore it could be predicted that women with lower occupational and educational status would derive a more positive social identity as mothers from identification with own mother and friends as similar 'ingroup' members, and that motherhood would be construed on more 'traditional' lines; these women would be more likely to experience pregnancy and motherhood as fulfilling. In contrast, women with higher occupational and educational status would derive a less positive social identity of themselves as mothers, as characterized by less identification with own mother and friends and construing of motherhood in terms of 'modern' attitudes towards the role of women in society; these women would be less likely to experience

pregnancy and motherhood as fulfilling. These predictions are further illuminated by studies which emphasize the dimensions characterizing the construing of motherhood, and their relationship to sociohistorical variables and motherhood experiences.

Hoffman (1978) looked at the differences that a first child made to a woman's role, in terms of women's subjective evaluation of this experience, using the self reports of 1,569 married American non-black women. She found that first time mothers, in comparison with non-mothers, could be seen as a group to have more contact with relatives, particularly their own mothers, to have friendships separate from their husbands, and to differ from multiparous women by having more traditional attitudes towards the role of women, and a more positive attitude towards children. Within the group of women who were first time mothers, she found that women who were less highly educated, and were also younger, with lower occupational status, were more likely than more highly educated women, who were older and had higher occupational status, to have more frequent contact with their own mothers, and to emphasize the more positive changes that motherhood brought, which revolved around fulfilment, a greater maturity, the need to be unselfish and loving, having a sense of responsibility in caring for the baby, and to place less emphasis on negative changes, such as being tied down, not enough time for self, or socializing, and lack of freedom. These women were also less likely to see children as being an interference, and also more likely to have traditional sex role conceptions.

Similarly, Westbrook (1975, 1979) found that women of different socioeconomic status construed the experience of motherhood in a different way, which affected their experience of the event. From an original study (Westbrook, 1975) using eighty-seven subjects, (32 of whom were males, 17 without children, and 55 of whom were women, 9 without children) she constructed taxonomies of the negative and positive aspects of childbearing and motherhood by use of multidimensional scaling techniques; from this she derived a scale of nine potentially positive aspects of childbearing and nine potentially negative aspects. In a further study (Westbrook, 1979) this scale, along with a six item scale, similarly derived and measuring coping strategies, was administered to two hundred Australian women who were completing the childbearing year (2-7 months postpartum); the women were divided into three socioeconomic groups on the basis of prestige ratings of residence and husbands' occupation. These groups were working class, middle class and upper middle class. Differences in endorsement of positive and negative items relating to the evaluation of motherhood were examined in relation to these groups. Westbrook (ibid) found that working class women, in comparison with both middle class groups, gained more personal satisfaction and feelings of well being from being mothers, endorsing the positive items on the attitude scale, such as feeling fulfilled, happy and more mature, and satisfaction derived from loving and caring for a baby, and endorsing fewer negative attitudes regarding the disturbance to their lives, such as loss of status and feeling tied down, and also worries about the baby and feelings of

rejection; they found motherhood a satisfying and enhancing experience, and Westbrook (1979) felt that this was consistent with the fact that their main sphere of influence was seen to be children and home.

Although middle class women were less likely to endorse positive attitudes to motherhood than working class women, and to experience it as less enhancing to their lives, Westbrook found that for these women, it was generally a less stressful experience; she felt this was because less endorsement of positive attitudes reflected a more realistic approach to motherhood and thus assisted in coping, and also that motherhood was much less important to them as an enhancement of identity and status. Also she found that although middle class groups expressed less satisfaction with motherhood, they were more likely to express positive feelings about their children, that is to see their children as individuals with whom they interacted and whom they enjoyed.

These two studies are not directly comparable, for Westbrook (1979) whilst emphasizing the importance of womens' subjective evaluations of the experience of motherhood, defines their socio-economic status in terms of prestige of residence and husband's occupation, thus relating these evaluations to husband's social experience rather than their own educational and occupational levels. However, the two studies taken together do provide an indication of the salient dimensions of construction used to evaluate motherhood, and also how these dimensions can be associated

with social experience factors, satisfaction with motherhood and feelings for the baby. For instance a more positive evaluation of motherhood involved construing it as an experience in terms of bringing fulfilment and maturity, as requiring the personal qualities of unselfishness and being able to give love, and involving the opportunity to take responsibility and care for another person; these dimensions of construction were associated with women who had lower socioeconomic status and were also younger, who had more traditional sex role conceptions, and who also experienced motherhood as a satisfying and enhancing experience. A less positive evaluation of motherhood involved construing it as an experience which involved being tied down, loss of status, more worries, less opportunities to socialize and lack of freedom; these dimensions of construction were associated with women who had higher socioeconomic status, and who were also older, had less traditional sex role conceptions and who also experienced motherhood as less enhancing and satisfying, but who had more positive feelings towards their own babies.

Other studies of motherhood as psychosocial transition, emphasize the transition from work to motherhood as the aspect of a woman's social experience which most affects conceptualizations of 'self' as mother and motherhood outcomes.

(b) Previous Work Experience and the Construing and Experience
of Motherhood

The beginnings of this sort of approach is exemplified by Oakley (1980), in her study of the transition from working to first time motherhood, which emphasizes the importance of previous work experience in accounting for construing of 'self as mother' and motherhood outcomes.

Oakley conceives of the process of becoming a mother as a psycho-social transition, one of the major social changes being retirement from paid work (the other social change is seen as being the entry into medical patienthood, which although of obvious importance to womens' experience of childbirth, is not as relevant to subjective identification with motherhood as a social category, and therefore will not be considered further). Retirement from paid work is seen to precipitate changes in self concept, the main characteristic of this change being a loss* of personal identity derived from working and being independent, which in turn impairs self esteem, the extent to which this occurs being dependent on how a woman evaluates herself in relation to motherhood as a social category. Thus Oakley suggests:

"For women whose self concept is already organized around a normative commitment to motherhood, its arrival brings a sense of reinforcement and confirmation instead of a need to reorder how self is perceived and evaluated" (1980, p. 245).

* My emphasis

In order to examine the relationship between previous work experience, evaluation of 'self as mother', and motherhood outcomes, Oakley devised the following measures from interviews with her subjects at 26 weeks and 6 weeks prepartum and 5 weeks and 20 weeks postpartum.

Antecedent socialization factors most pertinent to work experience, and feelings about work in relation to motherhood, were the nature of previous employment, whether women missed work or not, whether they found childcare monotonous and felt tied down as mothers, and also feminine sex role orientation. The latter was defined in relation to interview material relating to sex role socialization, general education and attitudes towards women, and subjects were divided into three categories on the basis of responses in interviews; traditional role orientation reflected a self definition primarily devoted to the housewife-wife-mother triad, an instrumental role orientation reflected the acceptance of other activities as being important in a woman's life (such as work outside the home), but retained some view of men and women as differently suited for domesticity, and a radical orientation implied "a feminist rejection of female domesticity and biologically based arguments for gender role differentiation" (p. 125). In addition to this, at each interview 'self image as a mother' - that is the extent to which women see themselves as mothers - was assessed, and women categorized as having 'high', 'medium' or 'low' self image as a mother.

The two outcome variables of interest in relation to these factors were feelings about the baby, and satisfaction with motherhood. The former were categorized on the basis of interview material into good/medium/poor and reflected the strength of positive or negative feelings towards the baby and feelings of anxiety about or towards her/him. Satisfaction with motherhood was categorized on the basis of responses in interviews into high/medium/low satisfaction, and reflected the extent to which women felt they were or were not coping with the baby and motherhood. The resultant interrelationship between these factors showed that women experiencing medium/low satisfaction with motherhood were likely to evaluate themselves less positively as mothers (as indicated by low self image as a mother), and to have a more 'instrumental' feminine role orientation, which Oakley explained by suggesting that:

"Women who deviate from the cultural norms of femininity (by having more education, greater career ambitions, and a greater propensity to combine 'work' with motherhood) are those who are least likely to be happy with the conventional domestic role" (p. 158).

In contrast, women experiencing medium/poor feelings for the baby were also likely to evaluate themselves less positively as mothers, but to have a traditional role orientation; also connected with medium/poor feelings towards the baby were low socioeconomic status, missing work, experiencing childcare as monotonous, and feeling tied down. Oakley (ibid) speculated that 'traditional' women were more likely to report less positive feelings towards the baby, partly because the passive or submissive component of the feminine paradigm was not conducive to coping

with the baby, and also the fact that women with a more instrumental role orientation were older, and more likely to have planned their babies, and therefore less likely to experience anxiety in coping with them, than their younger counterparts with more traditional ideas.

Thus, like Westbrook's (1979) results, Oakley's suggest that differential construing of motherhood, as represented by traditional and instrumental sex role orientations affect separate components of the motherhood experience. Women with a traditional orientation derived a less positive evaluation of themselves as mothers from feelings about the baby and a more positive evaluation from the role of motherhood, and women with more instrumental orientations derived a less positive evaluation of themselves in relation to the role of mother, but a more positive evaluation in relation to feelings about the baby.

It is unclear however, how the dimension of work interest fits into this equation. For instance, Oakley does not explain why, when women with an instrumental role orientation are presumed to have greater career ambitions, and a tendency to combine work with motherhood, it should be that factors reflecting this orientation, such as missing work and feeling tied down and bored by children, should be associated with medium/poor feelings towards the baby, which were in turn more likely to be expressed by women with a traditional orientation. This lack of clarity is due to Oakley's failure to isolate the components of sex role orientation which measure degree of identification with (or commitment to) work, in comparison with motherhood, and relate them to other criteria of work

experience postpartum, such as plans about returning to work. As a consequence of this, her own results do not indisputably support her conclusion that: "the possession of a strong 'work' identity is not conducive to a joyful anticipation of domesticity; not enjoying work and/or seeing oneself as a mother, is." (1980,p.158).

Pistrang (1981, 1984) in developing Oakley's model, looked at work involvement in relation to motherhood, in terms of the notion that for women who are highly involved in work, becoming a mother means giving up an important source of satisfaction and thus represents a loss. Pistrang (1981) developed a specific measure of work involvement, reflecting the degree to which women saw their work as an important part of their lives prior to pregnancy, and which was highly correlated to an independent measure assessing the psychological loss of work.

This was derived from assessing the specific satisfactions or psychological rewards associated with motherhood and work, on identical but separately administered scales, and subtracting scores on the motherhood scale from scores on the work scale. Work involvement (and degree of psychological loss of work) was considered in relation to postpartum working status, that is whether a woman was working at the time of the interview (5-9 months postpartum) and the experience of motherhood itself, as well as sociohistorical variables, such as age, education, number of years worked, income etc. and scores on the Attitudes Toward Women scale (Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1973). From a sample of 109 American first time mothers, she found that for non-working

mothers, those who were high work involved tended to derive less intrinsic satisfaction from motherhood, feeling more irritable, less important and more depressed, to have lower self esteem and to report greater costs of motherhood than did non-working low work involved mothers. This Pistrang (ibid) felt, supported Oakley's conclusion, that becoming a mother for these women was experienced as a psychological loss, that motherhood and caring for the baby could not make up for reported feelings of independence, recognition, respect, and a sense of accomplishment associated with working. In contrast, low work involved women who were not working, experienced more satisfaction with motherhood, and were content to be at home, giving their reasons for working prior to pregnancy as either financial, or for social contact, which suggested that working did not contribute greatly to a positive social identity. However, contrary to Pistrang's prediction, when looking at working mothers, although high worked involved women who were working tended to have more positive experiences of motherhood than those who were not working, when compared with low work involved women, it was the latter who felt more important and more satisfaction with motherhood. Thus it seemed that regardless of postpartum work status, low work involved women experienced more satisfaction with motherhood than high work involved women. Pistrang explained this finding by suggesting that low work involved women who were working, and were predicted to express less satisfaction with motherhood, were all working part time, and therefore level of participation in work did not conflict with their satisfaction with motherhood.

More generally, other characteristics of those women with low work involvement were more traditional attitudes towards

the role of women, which were in turn associated with feeling important and motherhood satisfaction, and also a tendency to be younger and have lower educational status.

Used in conjunction with Oakley's (1980) findings therefore, Pistrang's (1981) results lend substance to the view that women with a strong identification of themselves as working women, i.e. those who are highly work involved, will evaluate themselves less positively as mothers, and express less satisfaction with motherhood, than those whose positive social identity is less dependent on being a working woman, i.e. who have low work involvement; these women also tended to be younger, have lower educational status and more traditional attitudes towards the role of women.

This relationship was not, in essence changed, by whether women returned to work or not, in the postpartum period. Pistrang (1981) assumed that for high work involved women, combining work with motherhood, would lead to more positive experiences of motherhood; other studies have established this relationship between career or job orientation and postpartum work plans. For instance Hock (1978) and Hock, Christman and Hock, (1980) found that the establishment of a congruence between work interest and participation in work postpartum affected attitudes towards the baby; deriving measures of career orientation, mothers' perception of infant discontent, distress on separation and attitudes to non maternal care from interviews, Hock (1978) found that women whose levels of career

orientation were incongruent with their plans to return to work, i.e. those women who were highly career orientated, but planned to stay at home with their children, showed differing or more negative attitudes towards their children in the first four months of motherhood, than those women whose career orientation was congruent with their plans or intentions about working. Jimenez (1977) found for her sample of first time mothers (N = 120) that those women who were more job orientated (as measured by scores on a Job Satisfaction Information Questionnaire), tended to anticipate returning to work sooner and to plan to work more hours per week, than those women who were less job orientated.

However, although Pistrang (1981) found that within the groups of high work involved (HWI) and low work involved (LWI) women, postpartum work status affected feelings about motherhood, and that HWI women who were working expressed more satisfaction with motherhood as did LWI women who were not working, overall, LWI women, whether they were working or not, expressed more satisfaction with motherhood than HWI women. The apparent contradiction in this finding can be considered as partly due to the assumption that the decision to return to work postpartum is largely dependent on the degree of work involvement, and a desire to reestablish, on the part of HWI women, a positive evaluation of self through working, which was lost as a result of becoming a mother. In failing to relate the decision to return to work postpartum to the more general pattern of women's work on becoming mothers, Pistrang ignores an important

explanatory factor in the relationship between work involvement and postpartum work status, and that is the kind of work that is actually available to women should they require to work on a part time basis. Pistrang found that almost all women who returned to work (5-9 months postpartum) in her sample, were working part time, which is a reflection of a more general trend for women returning to the labour market after motherhood (Elias and Main, 1982; Joshi, et al., 1985). Moreover as Elias and Main (1982) observed, in their survey of womens' employment patterns, because of the lack of availability of part time work in some occupations, women were often forced into occupations, particularly those in the unskilled personal services (cleaners, shop assistants, etc.), which afforded them lower status than their previous employment. Even in professions, such as teaching or nursing, where part time work was more readily available, it appears that women may be reinstated on a status not commensurate with their position on leaving work. Although these samples are not directly comparable, since Pistrang's work was based on American women, and Elias and Main's on a British sample, looking at the pattern of womens' work after motherhood suggests that merely returning to work, rather than not, does not necessarily reestablish the same degree of self enhancement associated with being a working woman, since the actual occupation engaged in, and the level of participation in work may not be commensurate with previous employment and employment status. This point is further illustrated by studies looking at the advantages and disadvantages of combining work with motherhood, where the rewards derived from working are

to some extent counterbalanced by the costs of combining work with motherhood. For instance Beckman (1978) found from a sample of 63 professional and 60 non professional women, who were working full time in their late childbearing years, that the rewards of working for professional women were creativity, self definition and self esteem, and being in the world rather than at home, and for non-professional women financial benefits and social contact, but it also entailed the costs for both groups of lack of time, and the perception that working interfered with the needs of children. Similarly Berson (1979), looking at the perceived rewards and costs of combining career with family, for a sample of 143 single women and 43 married women with at least one child, found that the most salient rewards of working were feelings of independence and self worth, but the costs were restriction to leisure time, and having other people look after the children, which deprived them of traditional parenthood roles. Thus, these studies suggest that return to work on becoming mothers for HWI women , does not necessarily restore unequivocally the positive self evaluation established in relation to working prepartum.

Another, and more general point relating to the equation of evaluation of self in relation to work with evaluation of self as a mother, and experienced satisfaction with motherhood, is the extent to which previous work involvement or career orientation can be regarded as a major factor in determining aspects of the motherhood experience.

Both the studies of Oakley (1980) and Pistrang (1981; 1984) imply that work involvement or career orientation are major factors in determining the evaluation of self as mother and satisfaction with motherhood. Thus they suggest that for women who derive a positive sense of self from their work experience, becoming a mother will of necessity involve impairment to self esteem, with the implication that motherhood (the feminine realm) is a low status occupation in relation to work (the masculine realm) and thus is conducive to a less positive social identity. A more positive social identity and satisfaction with motherhood can only be established by returning to work. In both studies the measures used are orientated towards this conclusion; for instance Pistrang's measure of the psychological loss of work "only tapped satisfactions that could be obtained from work and motherhood; it did not measure any unique rewards of motherhood that may have replaced those of work" (Pistrang, 1984; p.436), and Oakley, whilst stressing that motherhood brought both losses and gains, looked only at the degree to which women ascribed to the "poor postpartum working conditions" of motherhood such as missing work, feeling tied down, and monotony, rather than considering the advantages of leaving work and being at home. (Hoffman (1978) and Westbrook (1979) noted that some women viewed giving up work as one of the advantages of motherhood).

Furthermore, in these studies, degree of work involvement was associated with the variables of age, education, occupation and attitudes towards women; for instance women with high work involvement, or greater interest in work, also

tended to be older, have more education, higher occupational status, and more liberal attitudes towards the role of women. As has been shown in relation to the social network data, this group of variables were also related to differences in patterns of social relationships, which in their turn affected evaluation of self as mother, and satisfaction with motherhood.

From the studies so far mentioned, it can be assumed that social identity as a mother can be characterized by looking at the patterns of identification and salient dimensions of construction, arising from comparison of self with working women (Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981; 1984), other mothers (including own mother), and friends (Breen, 1975; Abernethy, 1973B; Gladieux, 1978; Marcos, 1979; Hoffman, 1978). Also variations in the positivity of social identity, arising from this process of social comparison would be expected to derive from the antecedent social factors of occupation, education, age (Gladieux, 1978; Hoffman, 1978; Oakley, 1980), feminine role orientation (Gladieux, 1978; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981; 1984) and anticipated/actual time before return to work (Jimenez, 1977; Hock, 1978). Furthermore, the degree of positivity of social identity as a mother would be expected to affect satisfaction with motherhood, and feelings for the baby, as different dimensions of the motherhood experience (Westbrook, 1979; Oakley, 1980).

Finally, one further criterion not considered in detail in these studies, is the affect of choice, that is, whether or not the pregnancy was planned, on self evaluation as a mother and motherhood experiences.

(c) Planning and the Construing and Experience of Motherhood

First of all, there is some evidence from studies considering the planning decision in relation to sociohistorical variables, that women who have planned their babies, in comparison with those who have unplanned pregnancies tend to be older, and have higher educational and occupational status.

For instance, Wilkie (1981) and Steffensmeier (1982) found that women who had planned their babies tended to have higher educational status. In Wilkie's study, the latter was also related to higher occupational status, and a trend towards delayed parenthood, that is a greater age (over 25) at first conception. The reasons for delaying parenthood related to a desire for personal freedom and financial benefits rather than precedence of career over family. Presser (1974 ; 1978), in looking at the relationship between planning, age, and socioeconomic status, found that the younger the age of women at conception, the more likely that they came from a low income group, and that the birth was unplanned. Similarly, Lind (1977) found that middle class women were more likely to have actively planned their babies, that is interrupted contraception with the express purpose of conceiving, and working class women were more likely to have passively planned babies, that is to have got married in order to have children as soon as possible, or to have had unplanned babies; the latter group she found, usually worked in the traditional female occupations and possessed fewer career options which provided more status than motherhood.

Secondly, in looking at the work of Zajicek (1979; 1981), whose studies are based in the psychosocial transition approach, it would seem that although the movement from work to motherhood was seen as the major social change of relevance to the process of becoming a mother, it was the extent to which motherhood was entered into by choice, which had the most affect on self evaluation as a mother and the experience of pregnancy and early motherhood. Zajicek (1981) characterized pregnancy (which provided the focus of her study) in the following way:

"Pregnancy is an intrinsic part of the overall transition to motherhood, which, in turn, is merely one part of the overall female developmental lifespan. Any changes which occur in a woman during and after the pregnancy period must be considered within the context of the possibility of lifelong development and change" (1981: p. 38).

Like Oakley (1980), Zajicek (ibid) proposed that the major change that occurs for a woman at this time is the social change of giving up career or work interests in order to take on a nurturing role within the family, which brings with it changes in status, situation and social relationships; however in two separate studies, both using selected samples from a longitudinal study of 534 married and single first time mothers in the Tower Hamlets area of London (Wolkind and Zajicek, 1981), she found that these changes did not give rise to major reevaluations of self, and negative experiences were associated with the extent to which motherhood was planned and wanted at this stage in a woman's life. From a random sample of 56 married women Zajicek (1979) assessed changes in womens' perceptions of themselves in pregnancy and the early maternal years; self esteem was assessed by using a scale consisting

of thirty bipolar dimensions which were derived from pilot interviews relating to self description in comparison with close female friends and relatives. These dimensions were used to form a Semantic Differential Checklist, where the women were asked, for each bipolar dimension, to place themselves between the two poles of the dimension on a seven point scale. Each woman rated these scales firstly in terms of herself and then in terms of her ideal self; an indication of self esteem was taken as the discrepancy between ratings on the separate scales, a high discrepancy score indicative of low self esteem and a low discrepancy score, of high self esteem.

Using this measure in pregnancy, and at four months and fourteen months postpartum Zajicek (ibid) found a remarkable constancy between self esteem scores for the group as a whole over this period, suggesting that no major reevaluation of self had taken place. Moreover, when scores were ranked according to levels of self esteem, into three separate groups, high, medium and low, and compared in terms of reactions to pregnancy and experiences after birth, low self esteem was associated with not wanting the pregnancy, and with problems in coping with the child during the first fourteen months of motherhood. As has been seen from Oakley's (1980) study, low self image as a mother was also associated with medium-poor feelings about the baby, which in turn tended to be expressed by women who had unplanned pregnancies and who were younger. In another study, this time using 96 married women from the original sample, Zajicek (1981), in looking at attitudes towards

pregnancy and expectations about motherhood, found that, as well as the majority of women perceiving motherhood as better, or as good as working, planning was the variable which most affected these aspects of the motherhood experience.

For instance, 61% of women, in comparison with past rôles, felt that looking after a baby would be better, or as good as working; 25% were mixed in their reactions and 13% felt that childcare would be less enjoyable than working (Hoffman (1978) also found that only about 15% of mothers who felt that childcare would prevent them from doing other things, mentioned interference with working as a factor, from which she concluded that employment may not, for some women, be something they want to engage in, as mothers). In relation to whether women intended to return to work after the birth of the child, 61% said they would definitely not return to work, 15% said they would, and the rest were undecided, or were intending to return to work after the first few years. Of the women who felt that childcare would be less enjoyable than working, only half definitely intended to return to work after the baby. These findings would seem to contradict the implicit assumptions of the study of Oakley (1980), that personal gratifications derived from working are perceived to be greater than those to be derived from motherhood, and that motherhood, in relation to work, is generally perceived as a low status activity.

In relating planning to attitudes towards pregnancy and expectations about motherhood, Zajicek found that women who

did not plan their babies were less likely to react positively when they first realized they were pregnant, and at seven months prepartum. When women who did not plan their babies, and were initially negative, were compared with those women who did plan their babies and were initially positive, the former group differed from the latter in that they had not begun to make preparations, had not read any books on the subject, and felt that the affect of motherhood on their lives would not be positive, expecting it to bring more problems. There was also a trend for women who did not want to be pregnant to have more emotional problems during pregnancy, and to be younger (under 20).

Similarly, Miller (1974; 1978) found, in looking at the relationship between the intendedness of the pregnancy and the degree of wanting it, that all conceptions resulting from some degree of conscious intent led to pregnancies that were fully wanted, and that those resulting from lack of conscious intent varied in the degree of wantedness. In looking at factors affecting the degree of wantedness for unplanned pregnancies, and adaptation to an unplanned first child, Miller (1978) found that traditional views of the feminine role were associated with high wantedness, and the perception of the event as leading to changes in the subjects life was associated with low wantedness.

Zajicek (1981), in summarizing her findings, concluded that:

"Pregnancy and the birth of the first child can be regarded as a time of potential loss and gain. An old social identity must be given up, together with a certain amount of independence and an often active working career. These changes can contribute towards the modification of a woman's own personal view of herself and can, one would think, lead to the development of a new personal identity. It is likely that whether or not this occurs, and whether it is to be regarded as a positive development or a negative loss, depends to a certain extent on the woman herself and on her attitudes to herself within the maternal role. If a woman values her past life and finds herself in the position of having to give it up, *not because she chooses but because pregnancy "just happened"* * then she may have difficulties coming to terms with a new identity and any new role task." (p. 54).

* My emphasis

Thus Zajicek's studies provide a measure of self esteem based in the process of social comparison, that is the degree of identification between self and ideal self, assessed in relation to bipolar dimensions derived from perceptions of self as similar to, or different from, close friends and other relatives. They also lend substance to the speculation that social choice affects the social identity established in relation to becoming a member of the group 'mother'. From Zajicek's work, it is thus suggested that a planned conception, that is, motherhood as a chosen activity, will be associated with a more positive social identity as a mother and less experienced difficulties in coping with the baby. An unplanned conception, will be associated with a less positive social identity as a mother, and more experienced difficulties in coping with the baby. Furthermore, it would seem that less positive experiences of pregnancy, and low self esteem as a mother, are associated with a more general incongruence between becoming a mother and other life plans, rather than greater career orientation, or work involvement.

III. Conclusions and Hypotheses

From the preceding studies, it is concluded that, as part of the process of social transition from non motherhood to motherhood, a social identity as a mother is established. This can be examined by looking at conceptions of 'self' in comparison with other mothers (including own mother), friends, and non mothers (particularly women who are working, or career orientated), as similar or dissimilar others. The salient dimensions of construction, or social categorizations arising from these comparisons, are predicted to be, most importantly, the 'maternal' dimension (Breen, 1975), that is the extent to which motherhood is characterized by qualities such as loving, caring, understanding, unselfishness, patience and tolerance, as well as task related factors such as hardworking and the ability to cope. Also of importance is the social dimension, that is the extent to which motherhood as a social activity is perceived as restricting, in terms of both personal freedom (being tied down and loss of time for self) and contact with others. Other relevant dimensions include the extent to which motherhood is associated with fulfilment, maturity, responsibility or dependence, and the affect of being a mother on emotionality, that is bringing happiness, or anxiety, worry, depression or irritability. The extent to which social identity as a mother is subjectively perceived to be positive can be conceptualized by relating perception of self to ideal self and a 'good mother' figure, thus providing an indication of the degree of self esteem associated with being a mother. Furthermore,

it would also be expected that these figures would be described using the positive poles of the salient dimensions used to differentiate 'mothers' as an ingroup from relevant comparison outgroups.

It is also concluded from the studies in Chapter Two, that the social factors most likely to be predictive of variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother, are age (and number of years worked), education, previous occupation, anticipated time before return to work, and the planning decision.

Variations in the degree of positivity of social identity as a mother are likely to be predictive of the degree of satisfaction with motherhood, and feelings for the baby, as constituting separate dimensions of the motherhood experience.

The predictions delineated in these conclusions, and the proposals outlined earlier (see Chapter 1, p. 29) form the basis of the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis I: Social identity as a mother will be characterized by:

- (i) Subjective identification of self with own mother, friends, a good mother figure and 'ideal self' as similar 'ingroup' members (Breen, 1975; Abernethy, 1973b; Gladieux, 1978; Marcos, 1979), in comparison to work orientated figures as outgroup (from Hock, 1978; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981). These relationships can be examined by looking at perceived distance of 'yourself' from other

elements on a repertory grid.

- (ii) Usage of constructs on the maternal dimension (i.e. unselfish, understanding, patient) and the social dimension, i.e. level of social contact, restrictions to personal freedom etc.) as the salient dimensions definitive of social category membership (Breen, 1975; Hoffman, 1978; Westbrook, 1979; Oakley, 1980). This can be examined by looking at the bipolar constructs most used in the process of comparing elements on the repertory grid.
- (iii) Usage of these dimensions to differentiate self and similar others (ingroup) from outgroup. This can be examined by looking at the relationship between constructs and elements on the repertory grid.

Hypothesis II: Mothers who have less education are likely to have jobs lower in the occupational scale (Gladieux, 1978; Oakley, 1980) and to be younger (Hoffman, 1978). Mothers with lower educational and occupational status are also more likely:-

- (a) to have worked for fewer years and to anticipate returning to work comparatively later (from Jimenez, 1977).
- (b) to have more traditional attitudes about the role of women in society (Gladieux, 1978; Hoffman, 1978; Oakley, 1980).
- (c) to experience more satisfaction with motherhood (Hoffman, 1978; Oakley, 1980).

Hypothesis IIIA: Lower educational and/or occupational status and associated variables will be predictive of a more positive social identity as a mother (from Gladieux, 1978; Hoffman, 1978; Westbrook, 1979; Oakley, 1980), as characterized by:

- (i) Perception of self as more similar to ideal self (Zajicek, 1979) and a good mother figure (Breen, 1975; Marcos, 1979), as measured by distance of 'yourself' from other elements on a repertory grid.
- (ii) Subjective identification with own mother and friends as similar ingroup members (Breen, 1975; Abernethy, 1973b; Gladieux, 1978; Marcos, 1979), in comparison to work orientated figures as outgroup (from Hock, 1978; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981). This can be measured by distance of 'yourself' from other elements on a repertory grid.
- (iii) More frequent usage of constructs on the maternal dimension (Hoffman, 1978; Westbrook, 1979; Pistrang, 1981), and the usage of positive poles of these constructs to describe self and similar ingroup members, and the contrastive poles of these constructs to describe outgroup. This can be examined by looking at the most frequently used bipolar constructs to compare the elements on a repertory grid, and the relationship between constructs and elements on a repertory grid.

Hypothesis IIIB: that a more positive social identity will be associated with greater satisfaction with motherhood in the postpartum period (Oakley, 1980).

Hypothesis IV: That women who have chosen to become mothers, that is whose pregnancy is planned, are more likely than those women with unplanned pregnancies:

- (a) To be older (Presser, 1974; Wilkie, 1981; Zajicek, 1981) and to have higher educational and occupational status (Lind, 1977; Wilkie, 1981; Steffensmeier, 1982).
- (b) To have a more positive social identity as a mother (Zajicek, 1979).
- (c) To express more positive feelings towards their babies in the postpartum period (Miller, 1974; Zajicek, 1981; Oakley, 1980).

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

AIMS

The aims of this study are (i) to explore by use of repertory grid methodology the basis of a social identity as a mother, formed in anticipation of the event of motherhood, in terms of the social comparisons from which it arises, and the salient dimensions of construction definitive of ingroup membership; (ii) to establish the importance of the antecedent social factors of education and occupational status, age and number of years worked, anticipated time before return to work, and the planning decision in determining the extent to which a positive social identity is derived from subjective identification with the social category of 'mother'; and (iii) to examine the way in which social identity as a mother, in the process of the social transition from non motherhood to motherhood, is both predictive of, and validated by the experience of motherhood itself.

SUBJECTS

The two major criteria for selection of subjects for participation in this study were that the women were becoming mothers for the first time (primiparous), and that they were married or cohabiting at the time when first contact was made. The reasons for choosing primiparous as opposed to multiparous, and primiparous women were firstly, to locate women at a particular point in their lives, when

their expectations about motherhood and their perception of themselves as mothers would be directly comparable. Secondly, first time motherhood marks the transition point from non-motherhood to motherhood, and thus, looking at the experience of primiparous women allows a more direct examination of the factors forming and influencing social identity as a mother, in relation to non-motherhood. The choice of women who were married or cohabiting at the time of the first contact, thus excluding single mothers from the sample, reflects a desire to establish some degree of homogeneity within the sample itself, which would not necessitate further defining the dimensionality of social factors affecting expectations about, and the experience of, motherhood.

The means by which women were originally contacted was through the 'booking in' clinic at Trowbridge Hospital; the antenatal and maternity unit at Trowbridge Hospital deals with expectant mothers from the towns of Trowbridge, Bradford-on-Avon, Westbury, Melksham, and surrounding villages in the West Wiltshire area. On booking in, all married or cohabiting women with first pregnancies were given a leaflet by the Health Visitor in charge of this procedure; the leaflet had a brief description of the aims of the research, a request for participation, and a reply slip, along with a stamped and addressed envelope.

If women wished to participate in the research they were required to complete and return the reply slip, which asked for their names and addresses, telephone numbers, name of their family doctors and the date the baby was due. On receipt of this information a letter was written to them, thanking them for their offer of help and arranging to contact them at approximately eleven weeks prepartum for the first interview. Thus the sample was self selecting; the major advantage of using this method was that women were participating by choice, rather than feeling they had to participate as part of the antenatal procedure at the hospital, and this, it was hoped, would reduce the number of women 'dropping out' over the course of the study.

Leaflets were distributed in this way from November 1981 to December 1982; 160 leaflets were given out altogether, and eight five women offered to participate in the study, representing a response rate of 53%. Of these women, sixteen dropped out before the first interview for the following reasons: eight could not be contacted, or failed to keep appointments (the criteria for 'giving up' being three appointments made and broken); three women had miscarriages between the time first contacted and the time of the first interview; one woman was having her second rather

than her first baby; two women moved; one woman found she was not pregnant at all and one that her husband objected to her participation. Therefore sixty nine women were interviewed at eleven weeks prepartum; of these women two had babies who died shortly after birth, and four were not contactable for the final interview (the criteria for 'giving up' being two separate appointments broken). This left sixty three women who completed the full interview programme.

The first ten of these women were subjects in a pilot study, to develop, and test the appropriateness of the measures used, so the full sample for the main study consisted of 53 married or cohabiting primiparous women. The age of these women ranged from 17 to 41, the majority of women (62%) were between 21 and 29, and the median age for the sample was 25. Occupations ranged from managerial and professional groups to the personal service occupations, the largest single categories being of women involved in clerical or secretarial occupations (38%). The percentage of women in each occupational category reflected general national trends in womens' occupations (see Elias and Main, 1982, as discussed on p. 160). The level of education of the sample of women covered a wide range of qualifications, from University degrees to women who had no educational qualifications; the majority (59%) had 'O' level passes, but had not continued with further education.

PROCEDURE

This longitudinal study of first time motherhood was set up in conjunction with Health Visitors, attached to the General Practitioners

in the West Wilts area. The women who had volunteered to participate were contacted by 'phone or letter to arrange the first interview, which took place in their homes at approximately eleven weeks prepartum. This particular time was chosen for the first interview, because it was assumed that the majority of women would have given up work at the statutory time (11 weeks prepartum), which meant both that they would be more available for interview during the day, and that they would have made some decision about returning to work after maternity leave. In actuality 53% of the sample finished work at the statutory time, 32% had given up work either before or during early pregnancy, and 15% carried on working after the statutory time of commencement of maternity leave. Also this time was chosen because it was considered that the women in the sample would have clearer ideas about the experience of birth, and early motherhood, than if they were interviewed at 23-30 weeks prepartum, when they first booked in.

Approximately one month after the birth of the baby, a postal questionnaire was delivered to the women by the Health Visitor, who would notify me if there was any problem about the women continuing the interviews; this was contained in a stamped addressed envelope, along with a letter explaining its purpose and the measures used, and requesting its return as soon as possible. It was decided to give a postal questionnaire at this time, because it was thought that the women would be contending with a disruptive routine, which would make arranging an interview difficult and probably inconvenient for them.

The final interview took place at approximately sixteen weeks postpartum; again the women were contacted by 'phone or letter and interviewed in their homes. This time was chosen because some decision about returning to work, for those women taking up maternity leave would have to be finalized at this time (either by resigning from their jobs or having to inform their employers of their return) and therefore it seemed an appropriate one for looking at changes in plans about working and anticipated return to work postpartum. Also, it was considered that by this time in the postpartum period, women would be in a good position to assess the impact that motherhood had made on their lives. Both the first and final interviews were taped and were approximately an hour long. The women participating in the study were assured of the confidentiality of all the information they gave throughout the course of the interviewing procedure.

MEASURES USED

I. THE MOTHERHOOD GRID

The motherhood grid was developed for the purpose of exploring characteristic patterns of identification (the perception of self in relation to similar and dissimilar others) and construction

(the salient dimensions used in the process of social comparison, to compare self with similar others (ingroup) as distinct from dissimilar others (outgroup)), which form the basis of a social identity as a mother.

(a) Standard Grid Technique

The standard grid technique, as described by Ryle (1975) involves the tester choosing three elements from the subjects element list and asking the subject to describe all the ways in which one of the elements in the triad is similar to the other and different from the third. All the elements used by the subject are people known to herself, either members of the family, or people in different roles, for instance best friend, disliked person etc., who have been named before the procedure begins. As this process is carried out, the tester notes down all the descriptions of similarity and difference used by the subject; successive triads of elements are used until no new constructs are being elicited.

Thus a list of constructs is produced and recorded in the subject's own words on a Rep test sheet (Appendix Fig. 1). Having assembled a list of constructs, the subject is asked to compare or rate all the people on all the constructs, either by dichotomising, ranking, or rating.

(b) Choice of Elements

The elements of the grid, as originally designed by Kelly (1955)

consisted of a role title list of nineteen figures, which represented seven different areas of construing (self; family; intimates; situationals - doctor, minister, etc.,; valencies - i.e. rejected person, attractive person; authorities; values - successful person, happy person etc.). In the therapeutic context, this provided a sample of people with whom the person would normally be interacting, and therefore a basis for understanding how an individual construed herself in relation to others, and thus interpreted her own behaviour.

Studies developing Kelly's original technique, have tended to use the role title list to locate more specifically the particular area of experience the researcher wishes to study, and thus focus the process of construction within the limits of this area. For instance, Ryle and Breen (1974) used perceptions of self as an element in relation to clients, supervisor, tutor and parents as important others in looking at the modification of a student's self image during the course of a Masters Degree in social work; Starbuck (1982) used various agricultural tasks as elements to assess the difference between employers and agricultural employees in the perception of the job satisfaction involved in carrying out these tasks; and Fife-Schaw (1983) used six political parties as elements in relation to 'self' and an 'ideal party' on a grid to study individuals' cognitions and attitudes about parties, and their consistency with voting behaviour.

The choice of elements can also be used to embody the theoretical assumptions of the researcher; this is well illustrated by Breen's

(1975) choice of elements in looking at the characteristic patterns of identification and construction indicative of a 'healthy' adjustment to childbirth. Her theoretical assumptions involved the propositions that adjustment to childbirth revolved around identification with a good mother image, role differentiation between husband and wife, identification with own mother, satisfaction with the mothering role, and acceptance of pregnancy. The elements chosen were yourself, your mother, your father, your husband, a person you consider very motherly, a person you consider very immature, your notion of the ideal mother; thus she located womens' construing on becoming mothers, within the context of family relationships and around qualitative aspects of the motherhood experience.

In this study, the choice of elements, in focusing on motherhood as a social event, reflected the theoretical assumptions that subjective identification with the social category 'mother' could be defined in relation to factors arising from womens' social experience, such as relationships with own mother and friends (Gladieux, 1978; Abernethy, 1973b; Hoffman, 1978) and career orientation, or work involvement (Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981). Also, the degree of positive identification associated with 'ingroup' membership could be examined by looking at the degree of identification of self with ideal self (Zajicek, 1979), and a good mother image (Breen, 1975). Thus the elements used were yourself; your mother; a close friend; a career orientated woman; a good mother; as you would like to be. In addition, the elements 'not a good mother' and a 'successful woman' were used; the former to provide a comparison point against which to define qualities characteristic of a good mother, and the latter to provide some

assessment of the degree of status implicit in subjective identification with the social category of motherhood in relation to relevant outgroups. (As has been previously discussed, perception of self in relation to others, in terms of social category membership is often accompanied by the perception of the relative status of these social categories (Turner, 1982)).

For instance, if the pattern of identifications definitive of ingroup membership included the element 'a successful woman', one could assume that social identity as a mother was associated with high prestige or status, whereas if 'a successful woman' was identified with 'a career orientated woman' as distinct from self and mother figures, one would assume that high prestige or status was associated with working as opposed to motherhood.

(c) The Constructs of the Grid

(i) Provided or Elicited Constructs

As has been discussed earlier (p. 78) the constructs of the grid are the bipolar dimensions of description which arise from comparing three elements, and identifying how two of these elements are similar to one another and different from a third. In some research applications of repertory grid methodology however, it has been considered necessary, rather than eliciting bipolar constructs in this way, to provide them from a pool of elicited constructs, thus creating a standardized list of constructs against which each element is then rated. Fransella and Bannister (1977) have suggested that this method is of use when expected ways of

construing an event are not occurring, and the researcher has reason to suspect that important constructs are not being expressed. Adams-Webber (1970) in his review of repertory grid procedures, suggested that use of supplied or elicited constructs was also dependent on the purpose for which the grid was intended; if it was for use as a structural measure, that is designed to look at the organization of the construct system, rather than its specific content, it was preferable to use provided constructs, whereas when the content of construction was being examined, it was obviously preferable to elicit constructs. In relation to the motherhood grid, having piloted both provided and elicited forms of grid, it was eventually decided to elicit constructs on the first occasion at eleven weeks prepartum, as the provided constructs could not reflect accurately the different ways in which women construed motherhood.

The main disadvantage of using a provided list of constructs was found to be that it failed to tap the relative importance of different dimensions of construing about motherhood; the constructs that were provided reflected the characteristic dimensions definitive of the social categorization of motherhood outlined earlier (see p. 67) and were unselfish-selfish: patient-impatient: responsible-irresponsible: sociable-unsociable: mature-immature: ambitious-not ambitious: copes well-does not cope well. However, it was found that, when constructs were elicited, these reflected the emphasis of one dimension as of relatively greater importance than others. For instance, women might use four or five different constructs all of which were reflective of the maternal dimension i.e. understanding-not understanding: unselfish-selfish: caring-uncaring: patient-

impatient etc., whereas other dimensions might be represented by one construct, or not used at all. Thus the process of elicitation itself provided a means of identifying the salient dimensions of construction, since as Tajfel and Wilkes (1964, see p. 9) suggest, attributes featuring more prominently in an individual's free descriptions could be considered to be of greater salience or subjective importance, than those featuring less prominently.

(ii) Number of Constructs Used

The constructs were elicited from the subjects at the first interview (eleven weeks prepartum) by means of standard grid procedure. The original repertory grid test (Kelly, 1955) elicited thirty to forty constructs from the subject, these being thought to be representative of the totality of a person's construct system.

In the wider application of repertory grid technique in the research field, it has often been found necessary to elicit fewer constructs from the subject. This has been the case where research has been concerned with construing of a particular event, and therefore has elicited a particular subsystem of constructs, or when individuals construing is compared over time, or different individuals construing of the same events are being compared. In these cases it is often necessary to restrict the number of constructs elicited to a finite number, in order to simplify the analysis of material. In this study, the number of constructs was limited to seven. In the pilot study (N = 10), it was found that, after discounting repetition (the use of the same constructs for different groups of elements), and as a result of encouraging people to use qualitative values, rather than descriptive constructs

(e.g. 'has children - has no children' to 'is interested in children - does not like children'), this was the average number of distinct constructs ($\bar{X} = 6.5$) that people used.

This process is not quite so restricting as it sounds. Chetwynd-Tutton (1974) attempted to assess the lowest number of constructs which provide a satisfactory account of a subject's personal construct space; she assumed that the most important constructs were represented among the first ones that were elicited, and found that, with elicited constructs, a basic pattern of the distribution of elements in the construct space was established with a small number of constructs (8) the addition of further constructs, even doubling the number, having only a marginal effect on element distribution. She also stressed however that the number of constructs required depended on the number of elements used, the two increasing in proportion to one another.

(iii) Scaling Method: Dichotomising, Ranking or Rating?

Having formed a grid of eight elements and seven constructs, the subjects were required to assess each element in relation to each bipolar construct. In order to do this Kelly's original rep test used simply a dichotomous scoring technique, where every element was allocated by the subject to either the emergent or the contrasting pole of each construct. This facilitated the analysis of the grids, but was restrictive in the range of judgements it permitted, most subjects preferring to judge people in a more discriminating way than with only two alternatives (Chetwynd-Tutton, 1974).

Because of these disadvantages, ranking and rating forms of repertory grid were developed. With the ranking form, subjects rank in order those elements most readily subsumed under the emergent pole of the construct, to those most readily subsumed under the contrastive pole (Fransella and Bannister, 1977). This form of grid has the advantage of being a conceptually simple one, involving ordering of items, rather than, as for rated grids, assigning values to scales; its main disadvantage is that it forces discrimination between items when differences do not necessarily exist. (Chetwynd-Tutton, 1974). With the grade or rating method, the construct and its contrasting poles are allocated values either at the two extremes, or various points in between, according to the judgements of the subjects. The rating scale usually consists of seven points, as this has proven reliability, but shorter lengths are in use, particularly with children (Chetwynd-Tutton, *ibid*). The main problem about using rating scales comes with the assumption that they represent interval scaling and the implications of this for mathematical analysis of grid data: this will be further discussed when considering methods of analysis (see p. 93). Both methods of scaling were piloted in this study ($N = 10$), and having done this, it was decided to use the rating scale method, since this, from a methodological point of view, allowed the subjects a wider range of choice in judgements made, and also, from a practical point of view, the task of rating was more understandable to the women and also much less time consuming (and less tedious) to complete.

Thus, for the main study ($N = 53$), having elicited seven constructs from the triadic comparison of eight elements, the subjects were presented with a booklet; at the head of each separate page

was the element title, and down the page, the two poles of each elicited construct were written at either side of a seven point scale, so that the subjects rated each element separately with reference to all the constructs. The rating score for each element on the constructs was recorded, giving rise to an 8 x 7 grid matrix, containing 63 scores.

(d) Change in Construing Over Time.

With regard to looking at the changes in construing over time, from pregnancy to early motherhood, the same grid (using the same constructs and elements) was administered at the final interview (sixteen weeks postpartum); on this occasion the women were required to rate again each element on all the constructs, rather than eliciting a further set of constructs. The major advantage of using the same constructs for each individual pre and post partum is that it enables the direct comparison of the relationship between constructs and elements for each individual on two separate occasions. Having identified the dimensions of construing of most subjective importance to the individual by eliciting of constructs on the first occasion, change in construing could then be ascertained by examination of the differences in salience of these dimensions when used in description of elements pre to postpartum, since, as Tajfel and Wilkes (1964) have pointed out, the extent of polarization of rated judgements on salient dimensions, provides an indication of the relative importance of dimensions to the individual. Thus by looking at changes in patterns of rating of elements along the same dimensions, it is possible to see how the salience of dimensions changes over time, rather than eliciting constructs on both occasions, which makes

this direct comparison impossible. Adopting this method does not necessarily imply serious loss of information, as is illustrated by Breen's (1975) use of repertory grids on separate occasions over the period from pregnancy to early motherhood. Breen (in her study looking at changes in construing during the process of becoming a mother), elicited different constructs over the interview periods; using this method, she did not find any major new dimensions emerging as a result of motherhood, but differing emphases were placed on constructs already used prepartum. For instance, she found constructs relating to general moodiness, quick temper etc. which were used prepartum, became the most frequently used construct category postpartum.

(e) Methods of Analysis

By use of repertory grid methodology, two 8 x 7 grid matrices were derived for each individual (N = 53), one at eleven weeks prepartum and the other at sixteen weeks postpartum. The aims of the analysis of these data were:

- (i) to establish the dimensions of construction most frequently used by the sample in differentiating between the elements;
- (ii) to look at the patterns of identification (i.e. the perception of self as similar or different from the other elements on the grid);
- (iii) to look at the way in which salient dimensions of construction were used to describe self in comparison with similar others and as distinct from dissimilar others,
- (iv) to look at changes in (ii) and (iii) from eleven weeks prepartum to sixteen weeks postpartum.

(i) Frequency of Construct Usage

If large numbers of grids, each with elicited constructs, are being compared, it is often useful to reduce the pool of constructs by sorting them into categories, thus simplifying the process of comparison to one of comparing categories of constructs rather than individual constructs. This procedure has the added advantage for this study of producing a number of dimensions (construct categories) which can be considered to represent the basis for defining 'mothers' as a social category in relation to other women.

The most common, and reliable method available for this task of categorization is Landfield's Rep Test Scoring Method (Landfield, 1971; see Table 1). This was derived from 600 construct pole descriptions taken from 20 rep tests using college students, which were then submitted to two raters, who independently placed each one within one or more of twenty nine coding categories. Seven categories with interjudge agreements ranging from 0-62% were eliminated, leaving 22 categories with mean agreement of 80%.

Each rating category is identified by name, definition and example. Examples are of two kinds, those which fit a category and those which do not, the latter representing descriptions which at first inspection might be mistakenly placed in a particular category. Each pole of the construct is taken separately and rated in as many of the categories as are appropriate. A list of fully scored descriptions is provided and referred to as each description is scored (Landfield, 1971).

Table 1. A Table to show Landfield's rating categories (1971) with 'high fit' examples

Landfield category	'High fit' example	Landfield category	'High fit' example
1. <u>Social Interaction</u>		10. <u>Alternatives</u>	
a. Active	friendly/extrovert	a. Multiple description	friendly and ambitious
b. Inactive	unsocial/introvert	b. Closed to alternatives	narrow-minded/rigid
2. <u>Forcefulness</u>		11. <u>Sexual</u>	sensuous/sexy
a. High	aggressive/independent	12. <u>Morality</u>	
b. Low	calm/easygoing/relaxed	a. High	dependable/responsible
3. <u>Organization</u>		b. Low	dishonest/disloyal
a. High	competent/efficient	13. <u>External appearance</u>	thin/looks old
b. Low	chaotic/disorganized	14. <u>Emotional arousal</u>	anxious/impatient
4. <u>Self sufficiency</u>		16. <u>Egoism</u>	
a. High	self sufficient/mature	a. High	self centred/selfish
b. Low	dependent/immature	17. <u>Tenderness</u>	
5. <u>Status</u>		a. High	gentle/understanding
a. High	ambitious/successful	b. Low	cold/unfeeling
b. Low	lazy/unambitious	18. <u>Time Orientation</u>	
6. <u>Factual description</u>	tall/older	a. Past	happy childhood
7. <u>Intellective</u>		b. Future	believes in change
a. High	bright/clever	19. <u>Involvement</u>	
b. Low	stupid/uneducated	a. High	committed/dedicated
8. <u>Self reference</u>	I like them/ personally like	b. Low	indifferent/apathetic
9. <u>Imagination</u>		21. <u>Extreme qualifiers</u>	very/hyper/chronic
b. Low	practical/realistic	22. <u>Humour</u>	
		a. High	sense of humour/witty
		b. Low	gloomy/sullen

One modification to this procedure suggested by Topcu (1975) in using the Rep Test scoring method to look at different patterns of construing characterizing 'overt aggressives', 'normals' and people with 'suicidal tendencies', was that instead of rating each construct pole into as many categories as possible, each one was fitted into one category only. The main advantage of this modification, which was adopted in this study, is that it reduces statistical complications arising from multiple assignment (Topcu, 1975) and provides a measure of the relative salience of dimensions (or construct categories) by counting the frequency of constructs falling into each category. When constructs were categorized in this way, the original Rep Test Sheets used for elicitation were referred to if there was any ambiguity in construct placement. Landfield (1971) suggests this procedure to prevent overscoring or underscoring in any particular category.

Other minor modifications to the form of Landfield's (1971) original system of categorization were made, in order to reduce undue fragmentation of the constructs elicited, and to further define the content of particular categories. Table 2 shows the modifications made, and the reasons for making them.

A further complication, in applying this method of classification for the elicited constructs in this study, arose when dealing with constructs having a noun in common i.e. 'children' or 'work' or 'family' but which implied from their total description, different meanings. For instance, the constructs 'cares for children' and 'is interested in children' imply

Table 2. Modifications to Landfield's (1971) categorization system.

Original Category	New Category	Examples	Reason for change
22. Humour	1a: Social Interaction (high)	'good sense of humour'	3 or less
19. Involvement	5a: Status (high) 17a: Tenderness (high)	dedicated to career dedicated to motherhood	constructs in original category
21. Extreme Qualifiers	1a: Social Interaction (high) 17a: Tenderness (high)	very nice very loving person	
6. Factual Description	6a: concerned with home, family 6b: concerned with work activities outside home	interested in children interests centred outside home	To provide further definition
8. Self Reference	8a: similar to me 8b. different from me	similar ideas different ideas	within original category

constructs on a repertory grid, and use of these constructs in self description. Results confirmed the former, but it was found that for all BSRI groups a feminine (empathic) dimension was primary in self description, and variations arose from the usage of a secondary active/passive dimension, feminine sex typed women endorsing 'passive' constructs and 'masculine' women, active ones. Furthermore, a prediction that high levels of femininity in gender identity would be associated with more positive motherhood outcomes, was not confirmed. Rather high levels of masculinity were associated with more positive feelings for the baby.

different levels of commitment to children, and therefore could not easily be placed in the same category. In order to resolve this problem, the following procedure was used. Twenty two of the child/family/work related constructs (those that were causing the most difficulty) were given to an independent rater, who categorized them according to the Landfield categories; by this process 73% agreement was reached, the items not agreed on were assigned to the category originally chosen by the researcher. (A list of these items, and the categorizations of the researcher and the independent rater are displayed in the Appendix: Table 1).

Two measures were derived from this categorization procedure; firstly the total number of constructs and the number of different constructs in each category were noted, in order to provide an indication of the most salient dimensions (i.e. the most frequently used) used to differentiate between the elements, and the characteristic constructs most definitive of these dimensions, for the sample as a whole. Secondly, in order to provide a measure to investigate the relationship between dimensional salience and sociohistorical variables, for each individual, the number of constructs used for each major dimension (N=5) was noted. (The procedure for relating these scores to sociohistorical variables is discussed further on pp. 173-175).

(ii) Statistical Methods for Analysis of Repertory Grid Data

Before considering the methods of analysis used in this study

to look at patterns of identification, and the relationship between constructs and elements revealed by the motherhood grid, it is necessary briefly to look at the forms of statistical analysis available for decomposing repertory grid matrices, and thus determine the most appropriate both for the analysis of a number of grids, and for investigating change over time.

Non-parametric or Parametric Statistical Analysis

The choice of which form of statistical method is most appropriate for the analysis of grid material, and the interpretations of the relationships outlined above, is an important one, because it has both methodological and theoretical implications. The main methodological consideration is whether the assumption can be made that the rating procedure represents an interval scale, that is the points on the scale represent 'psychological' as well as mathematical equidistances. Yorke (1982) has suggested that the way in which people use scales may not be compatible with the kinds of mathematical analysis to which they are subjected. In a study of the meanings of different poles of the rating scale and the use of the midpoint, he found that the midpoint of scales is likely to be construed more vaguely than the verbally labelled anchors at each end, and that identically labelled scales may be used in different ways by different individuals, or the same individual may use a scale in different ways on different occasions.

Yorke (ibid) concludes that "the relationship between the semantic and the mathematical is complex rather than simple" (p. 9) and suggests that users of grids generally fail to acknowledge this difficulty. However, Yorke does not provide any solution

to this problem i.e. how a person's use of a rating scale can affect the mathematical analysis of a grid in a quantitative sense. Studies comparing the parametric and non-parametric statistical techniques for grid analysis suggest that the measures emerging from them produce highly similar results, implying that the assumption of an interval scale does not have major implications in terms of the distortion of the data. For instance, Fransella (see Fransella and Bannister, 1977) compared two main construct dimensions derived from a simple form of cluster analysis (non parametric), to the first two components of a Principle Components Analysis (parametric), and found that they gave almost identical results. Chetwynd-Tutton (1974) used the non-parametric 'intensity score', and the parametric 'explanatory power of the first principle component', from a Principle Components Analysis, to measure the cognitive complexity of the construct systems of a group of subjects; she found that both measures gave almost identical results, when testing the same subjects.

The other, and less well defined criterion, in consideration of whether to adopt non parametric or parametric methods for analysis of data, relates back to Personal Construct Theory itself, and whether the 'psychological space' represented by a repertory grid is in fact best described by complex mathematical analysis.

As Fransella and Bannister (1977) point out, it was Kelly who first suggested the representation of the psychological space in the grid by mathematical means, and he himself used a non parametric factor analysis to examine the relationship between the constructs. Fransella and Bannister (ibid) favour the use of non-parametric statistical analysis as a mathematical means

of understanding a person's conceptual framework; they suggest that the complexity of parametric statistical analysis leads to difficulty in interpretation of grid data, and thus can obscure, rather than reveal, the psychological relationships characterizing a personal construct system.

Other theorists argue (e.g. Ryle, 1975) that the use of any mathematical analysis should be to reveal the structure in a grid, and not to impose structure upon it; parametric analyses are as useful for this purpose as non parametric forms, as long as it is remembered that the statistical analysis of a grid is for purposes of understanding, the statistics used being descriptive, rather than prescriptive; if they enable the user to gain a greater comprehension of the dimensions underlying the conceptual framework of individuals and groups, this is sufficient justification for their use.

Piloting a Non-Parametric Statistical Analysis for the Apple Computer

In consideration of the above points, the Choice Grid (Rivers, 1980), a non-parametric statistical analysis for the Apple computer was piloted (N=10), in order to examine the effectiveness of such an analysis for the purposes of this study. This is an interactive computer program which essentially means that the computer program is written in such a way that the user is prompted by being asked questions about the data entered, being given instructions, or being able to choose the parameters by which the data should be analysed.

These programs are largely based on non-parametric statistics and often have elicitation routines which either elicit a grid from the individual by the triadic method (i.e. Choice Grid; see Rivers, 1980), or elicit a grid, and provide feedback which allows the individual to assess her own constructions, adding to them if necessary, in order to clarify the relationship between the elements (i.e. Pegasus; see Shaw, 1981).¹ As Easterby-Smith (1981) suggests, these programs are particularly useful and preferable, where the grid is being completed, and interpreted by the subject.

From this program it was possible to look at the relationship between elements (i.e. how similar or different any two elements are in terms of their ratings on the constructs), which is measured by a matching or similarity score between any two elements, the relationship between constructs (in terms of their ratings on all the elements) as measured by a relationship score, and the relationship between constructs and elements which could be established with regard to the total relationship score (Rivers, 1980). A total relationship score is found for each construct which represents the total amount of variance for that construct; the construct with the highest variance score is the one most related to all the other constructs and is used as a horizontal axis on a graph; the construct which is independent from the first, and accounts for the next highest amount of variance is used as a vertical axis. These two dimensions around which the constructs are organized, can then be used to plot the elements of the grid, the exact co-ordinates at which each element is plotted being

1. Table 2 in the Appendix shows a more detailed summary of computer programs examined for the purpose of this research.

partly a function of their ratings on the constructs chosen as axes, but they are also weighted by ratings on the other constructs used (Rivers, *ibid*). This graph is useful for identifying the way the elements cluster on the two main construct dimensions, but it does not reveal any systematic linkage between constructs and elements.

This limited ability to systematically comment on the relationship between constructs and elements was considered to be a major disadvantage in terms of the aims of this study. It is assumed in Chapter 1 (p. 26) that a repertory grid can be used to represent the process of social comparison; however, not being able to describe systematically the way in which individuals compare similar others with dissimilar others (i.e. the constructs relating to particular elements), leaves incomplete an examination of the process whereby an individual constructs her social identity.

Use of the Choice Grid for the pilot study enabled the formation of a basic understanding of the relationships revealed by a grid matrix, and confirmed that the grids were eliciting the sort of information that would be useful in confirming or disconfirming hypotheses. However, because of its lack of ability to comment systematically on the relationship between constructs and elements, and also its impracticability in terms of entering and comparing large numbers of grids, it was decided to use parametric based computer analysis for the main study.

Parametric Statistical Analysis

The program used for analysis of grids in the main study was the Ingrid computer program, developed by Slater (1972b) and forming the basis of the Grid Analysis Package (for other programs in the package considered for the purpose of this study, see Table 2 in the Appendix). Ingrid is a Principle Component Analysis program, and takes as its input a single grid; in addition to providing the major components, it gives information about the relationships between the elements, the relationship between the constructs, and the interrelationship between constructs and elements (Centre for Personal Construct Psychology, 1981). This program is practical for analysis of a large number of grids, since the only information required for analysis, is the grid matrix, and the form of analysis is identical for each grid entered.

The Ingrid Program was used for the grids elicited at both eleven weeks prepartum, and sixteen weeks postpartum, to provide measures of identification of self with other elements and the relationship between constructs and elements on both occasions, and thus to examine changes over time.

(iii) Measuring Identification

On the Ingrid program, the table of 'Distances between Elements' provides a measure of the perception of one element as similar or dissimilar to other elements on the grid. Overall similarity of any two elements is reported in terms of the distance between them, which indicates where any two elements lie in relation to each other, taking into account the degree to which they are rated similarly or differently on all the constructs; values less than unity suggest similarity, values greater than unity suggest dissimilarity.

From this table, the following measures were used:

(a) Firstly the distance from the element 'yourself' of all the other elements was noted for all the women in the sample (N=53), both pre and postpartum.

(b) The mean distance of elements from 'yourself' for the whole sample were compared pre and postpartum, by using a 't' test of significance, to see whether any significant changes in identifications occurred for the group over the period.

In order to represent graphically the way the elements clustered together for the sample as a whole, Makhoul-Norris Self Identity plots (Norris and Makhoul-Norris, 1976) were constructed, for both pre and post partum occasions, using the mean distances of other elements from the elements 'yourself' and 'as you would like to be'.

The plot is based on the 'Distances between Elements' table on the Ingrid program and involves setting up two axes orthogonal to each other, representing actual self-unlike self, and ideal self-unlike ideal self, which intersect at I. Distances from self/ideal self are then plotted on the graph and it can be assumed that subjects identify themselves with those elements at small distances and see themselves as dissimilar to those elements at large distances. Elements close to 1 do not contribute to self-identification.

(c) The distance of other elements from 'yourself' for each individual, at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum, were used as the basis for looking at variations in identification relating to

sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes (see pp.173-175 for explanation of procedures used).

(iv) The Relationship between Constructs and Elements

The relationship between constructs and elements on the Ingrid Program are derived from a Principle Components Analysis of the grid matrix.

General Characteristics of a Principle Components Analysis

A Principle Components Analysis represents a way of reducing the dimensionality of a set of multivariate data; it aims to transform a set of observed and correlated variables, into a new set of variables which are uncorrelated and ordered according to their decreasing importance; these new variables are called Principle Components (Chatfield and Collins, 1980).

The characteristics of this model are that it makes no assumptions about the probability distribution of the original variables and thus no explanation of the 'error structure' is required, and also that it is variable directed, the variables being treated as of equivalent value, and not as dependent or independent variables, as for example, in multiple regression (Maxwell, 1978). The usual objective of the analysis is to see if the first few components account for most of the variation in the original data; if they do, then it is argued that the effective dimensionality of the data has been reduced: if the first two components account for a large proportion of the total variation, then the values of the first two components scores can be plotted in each case, and the dimensionality reduced to two; clusters of variables described

by the first two components can then be identified (Chatfield and Collins, 1980).

Thus, as Chatfield and Collins (ibid) suggest, Principle Components Analysis provides a technique whereby, without serious loss of information, observed variates may be replaced by smaller derived variates; the components can be used in two different ways:

- (a) As a means to an end, using the reduction of the dimensionality of the data as a prelude to further analysis, in which case it is not necessary to try and interpret the components.
- (b) As an end in itself, whereby it is hoped that new meaningful underlying variables will be revealed, more basic than the observed variables, or more informative for descriptive purposes.

Regarding the latter usage, Chatfield and Collins have suggested that in practice, it is often difficult to assign meaningful labels to the components, and that the technique is much more helpful as an exploratory one, to provide information about the correlation structure and to generate hypotheses about the relationship between variables.

Thus, for the purposes of this study, the Principle Component Analysis was used as a means of examining the correlation between constructs and elements in the component space, rather than using the components as explanatory units in themselves.

Principle Components Analysis on the Ingrid program (Slater, 1972b)

Principle Components Analysis on the Ingrid program provides a common system of coordinates for both the dispersion of elements in the 'construct space', and the dispersion of constructs in the 'element space'. The components form an ordered series, each

accounting for part of the total variation. The first component extracted accounts for the greatest variation, the second, for the largest residual variation, and so on (Bell, 1980). Each component is defined completely by a latent root, which gives the portion of the total sum of squares contributable to the component, the construct vector, which gives the amount the component contributes to the total sum of squares for that construct, and the element vector which describes the same for each element; on most grids the first principle component accounts for 30-50% of the total variance (Chetwynd-Tutton, 1974). To look at the relationship between constructs and elements on the first two components, a two component graph can be constructed by using the element and construct loadings, and plotting the elements as dots, and the constructs as bipolar vectors (Fife-Schaw, 1983); also this relationship can be examined by referring to tables giving the relationship between constructs and elements in the component space as expressed by cosines (correlations) and degrees.

Because, on the Ingrid program, the relationship between

constructs and elements are given as positive (those under 90°), negative (those between 90° and 180°), and no relationship (90°), negative values were in this study converted into their positive counterparts in order for the numbers to be comparable. For example, looking at the relationship between the element 'yourself' and the construct 'selfish-unselfish', a negative relationship between the construct pole 'selfish' and the element 'yourself' (i.e. 150°; $p < 0.001$) can be rewritten as a positive relationship between the element 'yourself' and the construct pole 'unselfish' (i.e. 30°, $p < 0.001$).

This is similar to the procedure used on the Choice Grid (Rivers, 1980) for displaying relationship between constructs, where, rather than displaying negative correlations, the construct poles are reversed to show only positive correlations. Using this procedure, for each subject, at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum, the relationship between each element and each construct was recorded, in terms of degrees (under 90), and the level of positive correlation this represented. An indication of the salience of a particular construct description for an element, was taken to be represented by a correlation at the 5% level of significance or above between the two, on the basis that, as Tajfel and Wilkes (1964) suggest, more polarized judgements on a dimension can be taken as indicative of the greater salience or importance of that dimension in relation to description of a particular object, or person.

From this original analysis, a list of construct descriptions most salient for each element was drawn up for the sample as a whole; these constructs were then categorized by the Landfield (1971) method. In this way the construct categories most salient in description of each element were identified. The number of constructs in each category, and the mean number of degrees relating construct category to element, were recorded for both pre and post partum occasions. This provided a picture of the way in which each element was characterized, by the sample as a whole, before and after motherhood.

In order to provide a measure for looking at differences in construing of elements in relation to sociohistorical variables and measures of motherhood outcome, the four most used construct categories for each element were taken. For each subject, the number of degrees relating a construct within one of these categories to an element was noted, on both pre and post partum occasions. If more than one construct from the same category was used to describe an element, the mean number of degrees was noted; if there was no construct used within a category by a subject, it was scored as 0.

Thus, thirty two scores were obtained for each subject, on both pre and postpartum occasions; these scores represented the relationship between constructs within the four most used construct categories, and each of the eight elements. Since the relationship between construct and element was measured in terms of angular distance, scores could be subject to tests of significance (Topcu, 1975). Therefore it was possible to use them as the basis for examining variations in the content of categorization used to distinguish self and similar others (ingroup) from those less similar/dissimilar to self (outgroup) which were associated with sociohistorical factors, the planning decision and motherhood outcomes.

Summary

The motherhood grid was designed to investigate Hypothesis 1 (see p. 69) . . . exploring the characteristic patterns of

identification, and salient dimensions of construction, definitive of subjective identification with the social category 'mother', and providing a basis for examining Hypotheses III-IV, that is the extent to which the positivity of social identity was associated with antecedent social factors and/or predictive of motherhood outcomes.

The elements of the grid were defined in relation to factors arising from a woman's social experience (i.e. social relationships with family and friends, career orientation/work involvement), and they embodied a measure of positive self evaluation as a mother (identification of 'self' with 'ideal self' and a good mother figure). The elements were:- yourself; your mother; a close friend; a good mother; a successful woman; as you would like to be; a career orientated woman; not a good mother. These were compared by the triadic method at eleven weeks prepartum, to elicit seven constructs, which were then rated for each element; this rating procedure was repeated at sixteen weeks postpartum, using the same constructs and elements, thus giving rise to two 8 x 7 grid matrices which were directly comparable over time for each individual. The measures derived from these matrices, using Landfield's (1971) system of categorization and Slater's (1972b) Ingrid program were;

- (i) The salient dimensions (i.e. the most frequently used to differentiate between the elements) were derived from categorizing the constructs for the sample as a whole and counting the number of constructs falling into each

category, the most used constructs within each category providing an indication of the characteristic features of each dimension.

For each individual (N=53), the number of constructs used in each major dimension (N=5) was noted, in order to investigate the relationship between dimensional salience, sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes.

(ii) Using the tables of 'Distance between Elements' on the Ingrid program, the patterns of identification (self as similar or dissimilar to other elements on the grid) were investigated for the whole sample, by calculating the mean distance of the element 'yourself' from the other elements on the grid on both occasions; the additional calculation of distance of other elements from 'as you would like to be' enabled the construction of a Self Identity Plot (Norris and Makhlouf-Norris, 1976) which represented graphically the pattern of identification for the sample as a whole. The distance of other elements from 'yourself' on both occasions were then used as the basis for looking at variations in patterns of identification associated with sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes.

(iii) In order to identify the construct categories most salient (or important) in description of each element, the tables of 'Relationship between Constructs and Elements' from the Ingrid program were used. A list of constructs correlating with each element at the 5% level of significance or above

was compiled for the sample as a whole, and these constructs were then categorized by the Landfield method. The mean number of degrees relating each construct category to each element was noted; this procedure was performed on both pre and postpartum data, to investigate change in element description over the period under study.

The four most salient construct categories for each of the eight elements (as identified by the above procedure), were used as the basis for investigating variations in element description associated with sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes. For each subject (N=53) the number of degrees expressing the relationship between constructs in each of the four categories, with each of the eight elements, was noted. If more than one construct in a category was used in description of an element, the mean number of degrees was noted; if there were no constructs used, in a particular category to describe an element, the relationship between construct category and element was scored as 0. This procedure gave rise to thirty two scores, for each subject, at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

II. SOCIO HISTORICAL VARIABLES AND SOCIAL CHOICE

In order to investigate Hypotheses II-IV (see pp. 69-71) and thus examine the importance of sociohistorical variables and the planning decision in determining social identity as a mother (as

measured by the motherhood grid) and motherhood outcomes, it was necessary to evaluate measures of antecedent social factors, particularly occupation and attitudes toward women, in terms of their suitability for a sample of British women. This evaluation, and the measures eventually used, are outlined below.

(a) Occupation

Methodological Issues relating to the Classification of Womens

Occupation and Social Status

The first decision to be made in consideration of classification of womens' occupations, was whether to use Occupation as a measure on its own, or to use a more general classification of social status. As has been discussed in Chapter Two, differences in evaluation of 'self' as a mother have been associated with both previous occupation (Gladiux, 1978; Hoffman, 1978; Beckman, 1978) and social status (Westbrook, 1979). Both systems of classification have the disadvantage, when considering women as a separate group, as distinct from men, of being built on the basis of mens' occupations.

Elias (1981) looked at the problem of classification of womens' occupations within existing systems and came to the following conclusions: -

"Systems of occupational groupings are male orientated. They present information on occupation structure for men, but group women into few categories within each group; one purpose of aggregate occupational classifications is to capture the essence of differences between various occupations without resort to the underlying 200-400 occupational titles. At present there is no grouping of occupations which achieves this purpose for women." (p. 1).

Thus, looking at women's work patterns, if the normal system of classification are used (OPCS 1980; Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974) there is difficulty in identifying the structure of women's occupations, and also for the purposes of this study, in monitoring the changes in women's work patterns as a result of motherhood. For instance, a trend in the pattern of work for women is to move to different, usually lower status work on return to the labour market (Elias and Main, 1982; Joshi et al., 1985) in order to have part-time status, but the normal systems are often not sensitive enough to pick up this change in status. A woman moving from factory work, or various sorts of office work to domestic cleaning, would be described in the category 'unskilled' in both cases.

Another difficulty associated with these systems of classification is that they rest on paid employment as a criterion for occupational status, thus excluding women who are involved in unpaid work (i.e. motherhood, housework, voluntary work, caring for elderly relatives, etc.).

Acker (1973) sets out clearly the difficulties imposed by systems of classification based on paid employment, and the assignment of social status on this basis; she points out that occupation is equated with a full-time functionally important social role, and is used as an indicator of position for men; however the full time occupation of many women, that of mother/homeworker is never considered as a ranking criterion. As she says, other groups of people are also excluded from this criterion, retired people, students, volunteers and the unemployed, and she suggests that if the centrality of work

declines, "the relevance of paid occupation for class placement may decline, and other, unpaid activities may become more important as a source of social identity." (p. 941).

Acker's solution to the problem of classifying womens' unpaid work is to suggest that 'housewife' should be regarded as an occupation, and given a ranking in the hierarchy of occupations.

However, the all embracing definition of 'housewife' for any woman not in paid employment, neither adequately describes the work they are engaged in, or reflects the reasons why they are not in paid employment. 'Housewife' covers unpaid work such as running playgroups, adult literacy, being a magistrate, mothering and caring for elderly relatives and various kinds of domestic work. Also studies of womens' work patterns (Elias and Main, 1982; Joshi et al., 1985) show that women work full time on leaving education and give up work when they have a family; thus they are not leaving work in order to take on the job of housewife, but that of mother.

Another anomaly produced by this system, as Acker (1973) suggests, is that in the existing assignment of social class, a woman is ranked on the basis of her occupation, amongst other factors when she is single, but she is ranked on her husband's occupation when married.

Oakley (1980) suggests that official justification for this position would be that assigning a married woman to her husband's occupational status category reflects social definitions of her status

that parallel her own status perceptions. In her research, Oakley compared the social class breakdown according to both female and male occupations, but this was confounded by the use of a male system for classification of occupations, which failed to differentiate sufficiently between the womens' occupations and therefore 93% of her sample were classified as middle class, whereas 66% were in this category, when classified by husbands' occupation.

Garnsey (1978) suggests that as opposed to the male 'head of household' acting as sole agent in the class system, that class structure should be viewed as the sum of the class positions of families, as the distribution of advantages determining typical life circumstances among family units. Heath and Britten (1982) apply this form of stratification in their study relating family background to social behaviour; they state that "if we wish to take seriously the concept of family background in the explanation of social behaviour, we cannot afford to ignore the wife's occupation". (p. 2).

Using both male and female occupations as a basis for assigning social class, a new and distinct group emerged, that of white collar women and skilled manual men, which would normally be assigned on the basis of male occupation, to the blue collar category. Their findings suggested that these 'cross class families' provided a different learning environment for their children than that provided by the homogenous blue collar family, and have shown that this class mix also affected voting behaviour. Also, they discovered that family size as a variable was related to womens' occupations, irrespective of their husbands' jobs.

This study indicates the way in which taking account of womens' occupations in social class stratification can affect the variables under consideration, and thus the importance of its inclusion into studies involving family background, and social status, as factors in the situation.

These studies in general show that the classification of womens' occupations (and social status) by systems developed in relation to men, lead to difficulties in assessing the pattern of womens' work. Also, by the exclusion of certain categories of womens' work (unpaid employment), and the definition of married womens' social status within the context of husband's occupation, they underlie, and reinforce, the 'low status' tag often associated with womens' activities. Thus they serve to illustrate the point that consideration of women as a group in relation to, rather than as distinct from, men, often has the result of inferiorizing womens' experience (Williams, 1983). With these considerations in mind, the criterion of social status was not used in this study, although it is considered that Heath and Britten's (1982) model represents a starting point for redefining womens' social status. The method of classification of occupations used was the MRC/EOC occupational classification (Elias, 1981) which was designed on the basis of occupations that women are involved in.

The MRC/EOC occupational classification, as developed by Elias, relates to the Key list of Occupations for Statistical Purposes, and is based upon scales developed for the classification of womens' occupations by the Manpower Research Group (Warwick Occupational

Classification, 1981) and the Equal Opportunities Commission (1981). It consists of eighteen occupational titles, for instance 'education professions', 'clerical occupations', which group womens' occupations from professional to unskilled work; each occupational title is accompanied by a selected list of examples relating to it, and the examples again reflect the sorts of occupations that women have that are likely to fall within the category.

This form of classification is much easier to use with a sample of women, and also provides a much more realistic description of overall work patterns, thus enabling comparisons for change over time, and a more representative scale in investigating the relationship of occupation to other variables. (The full classification can be seen in Fig. 2 in the Appendix).

The classification however does not include women who are involved in unpaid work, and therefore it was not possible, from this scale, to assess the status of motherhood in relation to womens' paid employment.

Previous occupation, that is, the last occupation engaged in prior to pregnancy, was classified by the MRC/EOC occupational classification at eleven weeks prepartum. Anticipated occupation on return to work, at sixteen weeks postpartum was also recorded, using the same classification, in order to see whether women anticipated returning to lower status jobs, on reentering the labour market after motherhood.

This measure provided a means of testing Hypothesis II (p. 69) that is the relationship between occupation and other sociohistorical variables, and Hypothesis IIIA(p. 70) that is, the extent to which previous occupation accounted for variations in positivity of social identity as a mother.

(b) Number of Years Worked and Anticipated Time before Return to Work

These were the other variables relating to patterns of womens' work, which were expected to relate to other sociohistorical variables including previous occupation (Hypothesis II, p. 69), and in association with these variables to account for variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother. (Hypothesis IIIA).

Number of years worked was recorded at eleven weeks prepartum, and taken as the number of years worked at the time of the baby's conception; all the women in the sample had worked at some time after leaving full time education, even if they were not employed at the time of their baby's conception. For the latter group (11% of the sample) total number of years worked when employed, was recorded. Anticipated time before return to work was recorded, in terms of child's age when returning to work was anticipated, on both the pre- and postpartum occasions, in order to see whether plans about working had changed as a result of motherhood. Jimenez (1977) found that plans about working were made prepartum and were not significantly changed by the experience of motherhood itself. In addition, occupational status (that is full time/part time etc.) was recorded on both occasions, since as Elias and Main (1982) and Pistrang (1981) have suggested, working part time and the availability of work on

a part time basis are important factors governing the time at which women anticipated returning to work after motherhood.

(c) Age and Education

Age and education as sociohistorical variables were hypothesized to be associated with patterns of womens' work (Hypothesis II) and also to account for variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother (Hypothesis IIIA).

Age at last birthday for each subject was recorded at eleven weeks prepartum.

Education level was recorded at eleven weeks prepartum and classified according to a scale based on one used by Hoinville and Jowell et al. (1978), which is displayed in Fig. 3 of the Appendix.

(d) Attitudes Towards Women

A measure of attitudes towards women was used for the purpose of testing the predictions made in Hypotheses IIb and IIIA, that differences in attitudes towards women were associated with antecedent social factors and the extent to which women derived a positive social identity from being a mother (from Gladieux, 1978; Hoffman, 1978; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981). To measure attitudes towards women , the Attitudes Toward Women Scale was used (Spence and Helmreich, 1972, 1973). This was originally designed to examine the beliefs both sexes have about women, the privileges they ought or ought not to have, and the role they should play in society (Spence and Helmreich, 1972).

An attempt was made to include items which described roles and conduct in major areas of activity which men and women were, in

principle, capable of being granted equal rights; the topics covered by the scale were:- vocational, educational and intellectual roles; freedom and independence; dating, courtship and etiquette; drinking, swearing and dirty jokes; sexual behaviour; mutual relationships and obligations.

The original version of the scale consists of fifty-five items which had been standardized on a group of over 1,000 men and women students and their parents. Each item on the scale consists of a declarative statement for which there are four response alternatives: agree strongly; agree mildly; disagree mildly, and disagree strongly. Each item is given a score from 0 to 3, with 0 representing the most traditional conservative attitude and three, the most liberal profeminist attitude.

Each subject's score is obtained by summing the individual items, the range of possible scores being 0-165. The scale was developed in its original form to look at the differing attitudes of men and women on the particular topic areas, and for this purpose its length was considered appropriate. However the more common usage to which it was being put, was to derive a numerical index score, for each individual, reflecting the degree to which traditional or liberal views are held, and to use this score in relation to other behaviours (e.g. Pistrang, 1981). For this purpose a shortened version of the AWS was designed (Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1973). This has twenty five items, derived from, and highly correlated with the original test.

- (i) Piloting the AWS, and resultant modifications (Shortened version: Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1973).

In piloting the AWS(N=10) it was found that this measure, standardized in relation to a student population, included some items which were virtually incomprehensible for women with few educational qualifications. For instance "economic and social freedom is worth far more to a woman than the acceptance of the ideal of femininity that has been set up by men."! As a result of this, in order to make the scale suitable for the sample, five items were reworded, to clarify the concepts underlying them, a further five being changed by replacing American vocabulary with words more commonly used in the English vocabulary. These alterations were made with reference to a scale prepared by Weinreich-Haste et al. (pers. comm. 1982, 1984); she used items from the AWS, in combination with locus of control items, to look at the affect of sexist attitudes and locus of control on level of aspiration in the life pictures of adolescent children, and found it necessary to reword the items used to make them comprehensible to her sample.

Unfortunately, too late for the purposes of this study, Parry (1983) has published a British version of the AWS, as part of a large scale study of the aetiological factors in depression among working class mothers. This was developed in relation to the same kinds of difficulties experienced in this study, that its wording is not appropriate "when research into sex role ideologies is undertaken with samples from disadvantaged educational backgrounds or with British samples" (p. 261). Parry simplified and anglicized twenty-two of the twenty-five items from the shortened version, omitting

three altogether, which did not translate readily into simple forms.

Table 3 shows the five items in this study that were reworded, giving for comparison the original wording, Parry's version and Weinreich-Haste's (where the item was used in her scale).

Figure 3 in the Appendix shows the final form of the AWS, as used in the main study, showing the further five items which have been 'anglicized' rather than reworded. Parry's British version of the AWS undoubtedly marks a great improvement in its form, since the items have been consistently and rigorously reworded, and it would have been used had it been available at the time of interviewing.

For the purposes of this study, the shortened (and modified) version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale provides a general indication of women's attitudes towards their role in society in relation to men; these can then be compared with more specific measures of their perceptions of themselves as mothers, in relation to other women, as defined by measures from the motherhood grid, outlined earlier.

The scale was administered as part of the interview at sixteen weeks postpartum. The scores for the samples (for the shortened version ranging from a possible 0 for the most traditional views to a possible 75 for the most radical views) were divided into three groups, as reflecting traditional attitudes (range of scores 30-45), liberal attitudes (46-60) and radical attitudes (range of scores 61-70). Three groups rather than the original traditional/liberal dichotomy were used, so that the results would be more directly comparable to those

Table 3. Items from the Attitudes toward Women Scale reworded from the present study to suit a sample of British women, and compared to those reworded to suit an adolescent sample (Weinreich-Haste, pers. comm., 1982; 1984) and a sample of British women (Parry, 1983).

Item No.	Spence/Helmreich (1973) and Stapp	Weinreich-Haste (pers. comm., 1982: 1984)	Parry (1983)	Present study
2	Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.	Women should take increasing responsibility and for leadership in public affairs.	There should be more women leaders in important jobs	Women should take a more active part in politics
6	Under modern economic conditions, with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing the laundry	An ideal marriage is one in which household work, caring for children and earning money are shared equally by both men and women	If a woman goes out to work her husband should share the housework; such as washing dishes, cleaning and cooking	In our society, with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing up and washing and ironing

Table 3 continued

Item No.	Spence/Helmreich (1973) and Stapp	Weinreich-Haste (pers. comm., 1982: 1984)	Parry (1983)	Present study
20	The intellectual leadership of the community should be largely in the hands of men	-	-	The ideas about the running of the country should be largely the responsibility of men
21	Economic and social freedom is worth far more to a woman than the acceptance of the ideal of femininity that has been set up by men	Financial and social freedom are worth far more to women than trying to live up to mens' ideas of femininity.	Women are better off having their own jobs and freedom to do as they please rather than being treated like a lady in the old fashioned way.	Independence is worth far more to a woman than the acceptance of a dependent position, like that of housewife

Table 3 concluded

Item No.	Spence/Helmreich (1973) and Stapp	Weinreich-Haste (pers. comm., 1982: 1984)	Parry (1983)	Present study
22	On average, women should be regarded as less capable of contributing to economic production than are men.	-	Women have less to offer than men in the world of business and industry.	On average, women should be considered as less capable of contributing towards the economic wealth of the country than are men.

of other studies relating attitudes towards women to the experience of pregnancy and early motherhood (e.g. Gladieux, 1978; Oakley, 1980).

(e) Planning

In order to investigate the relationship between planning, socio-historical variables and social identity as a mother, outlined in Hypothesis IV (p. 71) the planning decision was recorded in the following way:

Since the important criterion in establishing a measure for planning was the extent to which a child was wanted at this particular time in a woman's life, that is that motherhood had been chosen (or not) in relation to other life plans, the planning decision was recorded in response to two questions, at eleven weeks prepartum; firstly responses to the question 'did you plan to have a baby?' were recorded according to a yes/no response, and secondly, the women were asked whether they would have wished to have a baby sooner, later or not at all, or whether pregnancy had come at the right time. The responses to this question were coded into categories 'wanted child sooner', 'right time' or 'didn't matter when' and 'wanted child later or not at all'.²

2. This question, and the response categories were derived from Presser's (1974) study of the relationship between age and timing of the first birth for a group of 408 American mothers.

III MOTHERHOOD OUTCOMES: FEELINGS ABOUT THE BABY AND SATISFACTION WITH MOTHERHOOD

(a) Feelings about the Baby

Measures concerning feelings about the baby were used to investigate Hypothesis IV, that feelings about the baby could be associated with social identity as a mother (Zajicek, 1979) and the planning decision (Miller, 1974; Oakley, 1980).

(i) The Baby Questionnaire (Neonatal Perception Inventory; from Broussard and Hartner, 1969).

The Baby Questionnaire was used to provide a measure of a woman's feelings towards her baby in the postpartum period; Breen (1975) used this measure, in her study of first time motherhood, as part of an adjustment to motherhood criterion which also included a Doctor's report and a Depression Score, and it was administered in her study at ten weeks postpartum.

The inventory comprises two separate scales, one being concerned with perceptions of the 'average' baby, which is administered first and the other with perceptions of 'your baby'. Each scale consists of eight items questioning some aspect of the baby's behaviour i.e. 'how much crying does the average baby do?', or 'how much crying has your baby done?'

The woman is asked to rate these items on a five point scale labelled from 'a great deal' to 'none'; the ratings on these items are added for each scale separately, and two scores obtained for

each subject, one for the 'average baby' and one for 'your baby'. The latter is subtracted from the former and the score evaluated in terms of a positive score suggesting that own baby was better than 'average baby', and a negative score, suggesting that own baby was worse than the 'average baby'. (A copy of the Baby Questionnaire is presented in Fig. 4 of the Appendix).

The problem with Breen's (1975) usage of this measure, is that it was administered on one occasion only, at ten weeks postpartum, and from this the contribution of positive/negative feelings about the baby to 'adjustment' to motherhood was derived. This assumes that feelings about the baby remain constant over the early postpartum period, and therefore they can be represented by measurement on one occasion only. It may be however, that the degree of positivity expressed about the baby, especially about feeding, routine etc. (items on the Baby Questionnaire) vary over the postpartum period; for instance, they might be less positive in the first weeks of motherhood, when the greatest upheaval and stress is experienced (Leifer, 1977) and become more positive as women become more experienced in handling and caring for their babies. For this reason using this measure, from one occasion as an indication of a woman's feelings about her baby and thus her 'adjustment' to motherhood is questionable. Secondly, to suggest more generally that feelings about the baby can be evaluated as indicative of an 'adjustment to motherhood' represents, as Marcos (1979) suggests, an oversimplification of the complexity of factors governing the perception and experience of motherhood.

In consideration of the above points, the Baby Questionnaire was used in this study to provide an indication of the degree of positivity of womens' feelings about caring for their babies. There is no suggestion however that 'feelings about the baby' are predictive of adjustment to motherhood.

It was also administered on two occasions, in the postal questionnaire, at one month postpartum, and as part of the interview at sixteen weeks postpartum. The scores were calculated for both occasions, and also to look at changes over time, the difference in scores from 1 month to sixteen weeks postpartum was noted; for each subject in terms of an increase in score, a decrease in score, or scores remaining the same.

(ii) First Feelings when the Baby was Born

An additional measure 'first feelings when the baby was born' was used to look at initial reactions to the baby, thus providing a third (though retrospective) occasion for comparing feelings about the baby in the postpartum period. This measure was derived from coding the responses to the question 'What were your first feelings when your baby was born?' which was given at 1 month postpartum on the postal questionnaire. The responses were categorized into two groups 1 = good, 2 = ambivalent.

The responses to this question were polarized, and the division of them into these groups was clearcut; for instance examples of 'good' feelings were 'absolute joy', 'I felt wonderful', 'I felt

it was a miracle to create a new human being' and 'ambivalent' feelings; 'I felt exhausted and wanted to push the baby away', 'I can't say I felt any great flow of love for the baby at first, I just wanted to sleep'.

(b) Satisfaction with Motherhood

This measure was derived from interview material at one month and sixteen weeks postpartum, to test Hypothesis IIIB (p. 70) relating social identity as a mother to expressed satisfaction with motherhood. It was derived from a procedure based on that used by Oakley (1980); she obtained an overall index of satisfaction with motherhood, from interview material at five weeks and five months postpartum.

The overall index for satisfaction with motherhood was established by Oakley (ibid) from initial responses to the following questions:-

"How does it feel to be a mother?"

"Do you like looking after the baby?"

"How do you feel you are coping with the baby generally?"

These questions were asked at both postnatal interviews. All three components of 'adjustment' were separately rated 1-5 (1 = very satisfied or coping very well). On this basis the women were divided into three groups:

- a) 'high satisfaction': a rating of 1 or 2 for satisfaction with being a mother and looking after the baby at both postnatal interviews, and a rating of 1 or 2 for coping at 5 months or

of 1-3 at five weeks.

- b) 'medium satisfaction': more than one rating of 3 but no rating of 4 or 5.
- c) 'low satisfaction': one or more rating of 4 or 5 (Oakley, 1980; p. 304).

The 'satisfaction with motherhood' measure used in this study, although based on the same procedure as that used by Oakley (ibid) differed in its content, in that it was defined in relation to feelings about being a mother specifically, rather than including feelings about caring for the baby, since, as has been suggested earlier (p. 68) satisfaction with motherhood and feelings for the baby are regarded as separate dimensions of the motherhood experience. Secondly, for the reasons mentioned earlier (p. 124), the results derived from this measure were not considered to be indicative of an 'adjustment' to motherhood. The measure was derived from the following questions:-

"How does it feel to be a mother?" (1 mth postpartum)

"What are your strongest feelings about being a mother?"

(16 weeks postpartum)

"Do you think/feel about yourself any differently as a result of becoming a mother?" (1 mth and 16 weeks postpartum).

The responses to the first two questions were coded into three categories, good; medium; poor, according to the degree of positivity indicated in their content, about being a mother. For instance, responses ranged from 'fantastic experience', 'wonderful', 'the best thing that's happened in my life', which were categorized

in the 'good' category; 'enjoyable on the whole but also worrying and brings greater responsibility', which were categorized into the 'medium' category, and 'worried most of the time about the baby's well being', 'feel tied down', 'overburdening sense of responsibility', which were categorized into the 'poor' category. These were then rated 1-3, 1 representing 'good' and 3 'poor'.

The third question was coded by content according to whether women felt better than expected (e.g. 'relationship with the baby was more rewarding', 'brought greater confidence and maturity', 'much less work involved than expected'), that the experience was much as expected (e.g. 'don't feel any different', 'much as expected'), or that the experience was worse than expected (e.g. 'more demanding', 'takes all my time', 'no time for self', 'less confident about things', 'feel dull and boring'). These categories were then rated 1-3, 1 representing 'better' and 3 representing 'worse'.

These four separate ratings were then added together, the principle being that those women with an overall low score (minimum 4) were expressing greater satisfaction with motherhood than those women with an overall high score (maximum 12).

The results of this total addition were histogrammed and the sample divided into three groups according to their score: 1 = high satisfaction with motherhood (N=20); 2 = medium satisfaction with motherhood (N=19); 3 = low satisfaction with motherhood (N=14).

(c) Additional Material derived from the Interviews

In addition to these specific measures of motherhood outcomes, more general information about the experience of the transition from pregnancy to early motherhood was derived from interview material at eleven weeks prepartum, and sixteen weeks postpartum, and the postal questionnaire at one month postpartum. Although not used to test specific hypotheses, this provided an additional source of information from which to substantiate the findings derived from the other measures in the study.

The three main areas of experience covered by this material were:-

- (i) Feelings about working in comparison with being a mother at home, and the general changes in lifestyle that motherhood had brought.
- (ii) Changing patterns of contact with and feelings about, own mother and friends from pre to postpartum.
- (iii) The amount of preparation for, and the experience of, the birth itself.

These areas were examined either by open ended questions (e.g. 'what did you enjoy about working?'; 'what major changes in lifestyle do you feel motherhood has brought?'; 'what do you enjoy about being at home?' etc.), questions which required a yes/no response (e.g. 'have you lost contact with your close friends since becoming a mother?'; 'is your mother coming to help after the baby is born?' etc.) and those which elicited factual information (e.g. 'How far away do your parents live?'). These questions were devised, and categorized

for their content in relation, wherever possible, to previous studies looking at the experience of first time motherhood (e.g. Bennett, 1981; Oakley, 1980; Presser, 1974; Taylor, 1980; Westbrook, 1975; 1979; Wolkind and Zajicek, 1981), in order for some degree of consensus to be established.

The responses to these questions, having been categorized for their content, were then histogrammed, in order to compare responses and also to look at changes pre to postpartum.

Summary

In order to examine the interrelationship between sociohistorical variables and the planning decision, and the extent to which these could be associated with variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother (see Hypotheses II, III and IV ; p. 69-71), measures of occupation, age, education, number of years worked, anticipated time before return to work, attitudes towards women and the planning decision were obtained from interviews at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum. Measures of occupation and attitudes towards women were chosen, and modified to suit a sample of British women.

In order to investigate the predicted relationships between motherhood outcomes, sociohistorical variables and social identity as a mother (see Hypotheses II and IV), two dimensions of the experience of motherhood were measured; feelings for the baby and satisfaction with motherhood. The former were measured on three occasions in the postpartum period; 'first feelings when the baby was born' was derived from coding responses to a question on the

postal questionnaire at one month postpartum. The Baby Questionnaire, which compared 'your baby' with the 'average baby' and gave rise to a score of the degree of positivity felt towards the baby, was given at one month and sixteen weeks postpartum.

'Satisfaction with motherhood' was derived from questions in the interview material relating specifically to feelings about being a mother, at one month and sixteen weeks postpartum, responses being categorized, and coded into three groups representing overall high, medium or low satisfaction with motherhood. Interview material at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum, and the postal questionnaire at one month postpartum also provided additional information about the experience of the transition from pregnancy to early motherhood, relating to feelings about working in comparison with being at home, changes in lifestyle, changing patterns of social contact with mother and friends and preparation for childcare and the experience of birth itself. Responses to these questions were categorized for content, and these categories were histogrammed, in order to compare responses for the sample and to look at changes from pre to postpartum.

Thus, the measures used in Part One of this study, to investigate Hypotheses I-IV, represented four main areas: antecedent social factors (occupation, age, education, number of years worked, anticipated time before return to work and attitudes towards women); the planning decision; social identity as a mother (distance of 'yourself' from other elements on the grid, frequency of construct usage, relationship between constructs and elements) and mother-

hood outcomes (feelings for the baby, satisfaction with motherhood). Table 4 shows the occasions in pregnancy and early motherhood from which these measures were derived.

Table 4. A Summary of Measures Used on Each Interview Occasion

Interview 1 (11 weeks prepartum)	Postal Questionnaire (1 month postpartum)	Interview II (16 weeks postpartum)
<u>Motherhood Grid:</u>	<u>Baby Questionnaire I</u>	<u>Motherhood Grid:</u>
Distance of 'your- self' from other elements.	<u>Questionnaire II:</u> First feelings when the baby was born	Distance of 'yourself' from other elements.
Frequency of construct usage	Satisfaction with motherhood	Relationship between constructs and elements.
Relationship between constructs and elements		<u>Baby Questionnaire II</u>
<u>Questionnaire 1:</u> including measures of age, occupation, number of years worked, education, planning.		<u>Attitudes Toward Women Scale</u>
		Questionnaire III: including a measure of anticipated time before return to work and satisfaction with motherhood

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

The results of the analyses delineated in Chapter III are presented in three sections:

Section I examines the characteristics of a social identity as a mother, in relation to results from the motherhood grids for the whole sample (N=53).

Section II looks at variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother associated with sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes; firstly the interrelationship between sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes is presented and then variations in the positivity of social identity are discussed in relation to the intercorrelation of these variables.

Section III examines variations in the positivity of social identity associated with the planning decision and motherhood outcomes; again the interrelationship between planning, sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes are presented initially, and variations in the positivity of social identity are discussed in relation to the intercorrelation between these variables.

SECTION I: SOCIAL IDENTITY AS A MOTHER: an analysis of measures from the motherhood grids for the whole sample (N=53) on both pre and postpartum occasions

Analysis of measures from the motherhood grid for the sample as a whole (N=53) provided a means of testing the predictions in Hypothesis I: that social identity as a mother will be characterized by:

- (i) Subjective identification of self with own mother, friends, a good mother figure and 'ideal self' as similar 'ingroup' members (Breen, 1975; Abernethy, 1973b; Gladieux, 1978; Marcos, 1979), in comparison to work orientated figures as outgroup (from Hock, 1978; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981).
- (ii) Usage of constructs on the maternal dimension (i.e. unselfish, understanding, patient etc.) and the social dimension (i.e. level of social contact, restriction to personal freedom etc.) as the salient dimensions definitive of social category membership (Breen, 1975; Hoffman, 1978; Westbrook, 1979; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981).
- (iii) Usage of these dimensions to differentiate self and similar others (ingroup) from outgroup.

The general change in these characteristics was outlined by Proposal C: that the experience of motherhood itself will be either validating or invalidating of the 'hypothesized' social identity established in pregnancy (from Kelly, 1955); validation will increase the emotional significance of ingroup identification, leading to the accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences (from Tajfel, 1978) (as measured by greater polarization of judgements on salient dimensions), and invalidation will lead to less differentiation of ingroup and outgroup, or identification with outgroup (as measured by less polarization of judgements on salient dimensions).

(a) Patterns of Identification Characterizing Social Identity as a Mother

On the Ingrid Program, the distance between elements reflects

how similar or different any two elements are in terms of the ratings on their constructs. (For further explanation of this measure, see Chapter III, p. 99). In order to see how the elements clustered together, and whether this changed pre to postpartum, the distances of the element 'yourself' from each element were taken for the whole sample (N=53) at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum, and changes in distances were investigated using 't' tests of significance. The results of this analysis are shown below in Table 5.

Table 5. Table to show the mean distances of each element from the element 'yourself' for the whole sample (N=53) pre and postpartum.

Element	mean dist: 11 wks prepartum	mean dist: 16 wks postpartum	t	Sig.
successful woman	0.821	0.822	0.015	ns
good mother	0.602	0.625	0.458	ns
career woman	1.036	1.033	0.047	ns
close friend	0.671	0.729	0.939	ns
as you would be	0.581	0.751	1.261	ns
your mother	0.695	0.741	0.828	ns
not a good mother	1.208	1.253	0.662	ns

Note: elements with distances ≤ 1 are similar to self: elements with distances $>$ than 1 are dissimilar to self.
df=52 for all calculations.

As can be seen from Table 5, the elements perceived as similar to self at eleven weeks prepartum were 'a good mother' ($\bar{X}=0.6$),

'as you would like to be' ($\bar{X}=0.6$), a close friend ($\bar{X}=0.7$) and 'your mother' ($\bar{X}=0.7$). In addition, 'a successful woman' was seen as similar ($\bar{X}=0.8$) rather than dissimilar from self.

The elements perceived as distant from 'yourself' were 'a career orientated woman' ($\bar{X}=1.0$) and 'not a good mother' ($\bar{X}=1.2$). There were no significant differences in the distances of other elements from yourself from eleven weeks prepartum to sixteen weeks postpartum, suggesting that there was little change in perceived relationship of other elements to 'self' as a result of the experience of motherhood.

Figures 1 and 2 summarize the relationship of the elements yourself (actual self) and 'as you would like to be' (ideal self) to the other elements in the grid pre and postpartum.

Thus Hypothesis I(i) was confirmed; social identity as a mother was characterized by subjective identification with the elements 'a good mother', 'your mother', 'a close friend', and 'as you would like to be' as similar ingroup members as compared with 'a career orientated woman' as outgroup.

The element 'a successful woman' was seen as similar (distance < 1) rather than dissimilar (distance > 1) to self for the sample as a whole; this suggests that 'self as mother' was more likely to be subjectively associated with high status (successful) rather than low status (unsuccessful).

Fig. 1. A self identity plot (Norris et al., 1976) to show the relationship of other elements of the motherhood grid to self and ideal self for the sample (N=53) at 11 wks prepartum.

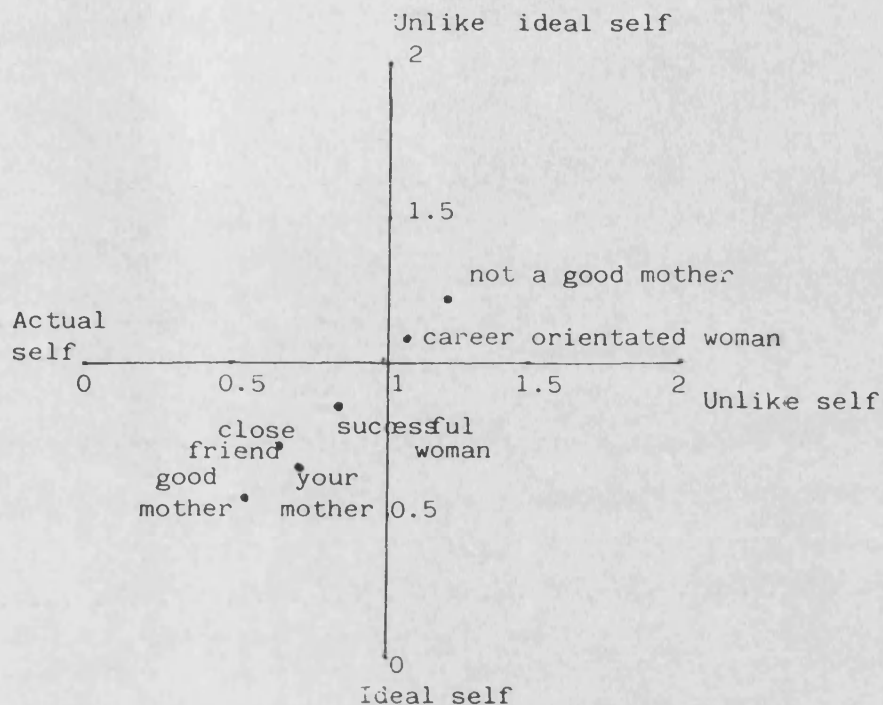
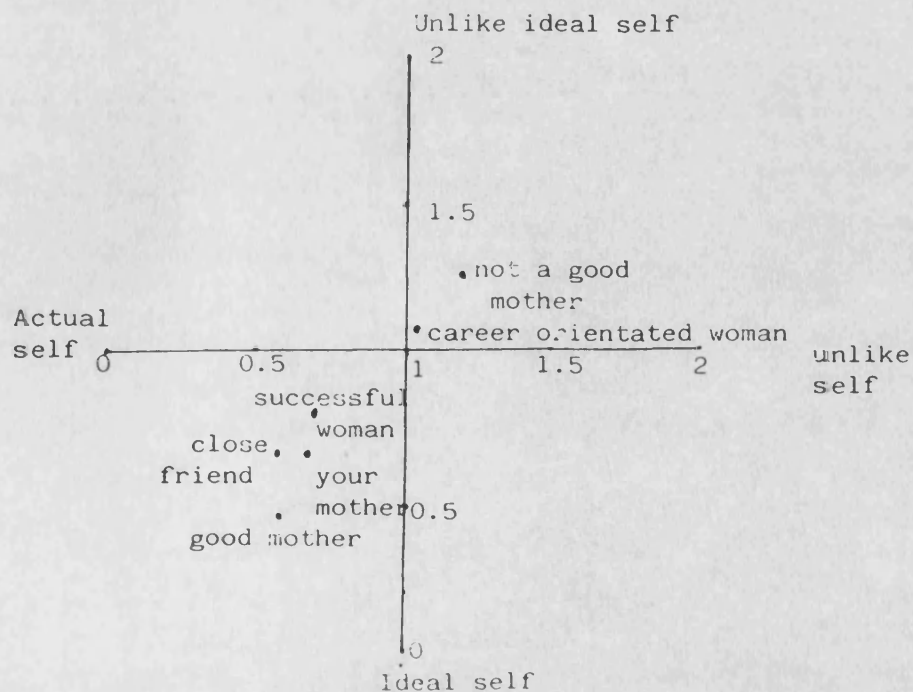


Fig. 2. A self identity plot (Norris et al., 1976) to show the relationship of other elements of the motherhood grid to self and ideal self for the sample (N=53) at 16 weeks postpartum.



Although the general predictions about change in construing from pre to postpartum (as outlined in Proposal C) did not relate directly to measures of identification, it can be seen from looking at patterns of identification that there was little evidence to suggest an accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences as a result of the experience of motherhood. Similarity of 'self' to ingroup, and distance of 'self' from outgroup were not significantly greater at sixteen weeks postpartum.

(b) Frequency of Construct Usage(dimensional salience)

As has been outlined previously (see Chapter III Section 1, pp. 88-92) the method for deriving a measure of dimensional salience was to categorize the constructs for the whole sample by means of Landfield's (1971) system of classification, and to suggest that those construct categories that were most frequently used, were those that were most salient in differentiating between the elements. (from Tajfel and Wilkes, 1964).

The results of this process of categorization are displayed in Table 6, which gives the total number of constructs falling into each category for the sample as a whole (N=53), the number of different constructs within each category, and examples of the most commonly used constructs characterizing the categories.

As can be seen from Table 6, the most used categories for differentiating between the elements were those of Tenderness (17a and 17b), characterized by constructs such as 'unselfish', 'cares for children', in contrast to 'does not like children',

Table 6. Categorization of constructs from the motherhood grids using Landfield's (1971) method, for the sample (N=53) at eleven weeks prepartum.

LANDFIELD CATEGORY		CONSTRUCT DISTRIBUTION		
<u>CATEGORY NAME</u>	CATEGORY NUMBER	TOTAL NO. OF CONSTRUCTS	NO. OF DIFFERENT CONSTRUCTS	EXAMPLE OF MOST COMMON CONSTRUCTS
High Tenderness	17a	90	41	Unselfish, cares for children
Low forcefulness	2b	75	36	Patient, contented
High forcefulness	2a	54	24	Impatient, quick tempered
Low Tenderness	17b	57	24	Does not like children, uncaring
Social Interaction (Inactive)	1b	48	18	Home centred, unsociable
Factual Description	6b	39	11	Not interested in children, interested in work
Social Interaction	1a	39	13	Sociable, friendly
Factual Description	6a	37	11	More interested in family, not interested in Work
Self sufficiency(high)	4a	29	15	Copes well
Egoism	16	28	6	Selfish, single minded
Self sufficiency(low)	4b	28	17	Copes badly/not well
Emotional Arousal	14b	24	9	Unhappy, anxious
Status(high)	5a	23	13	Successful, ambitious
Self reference	8b	23	8	Different ideas to me
Self reference	8a	21	8	Similar ideas to me
Organization (high)	3a	16	11	Well organized/efficient

Table 6 continued

LANDFIELD CATEGORY		CONSTRUCT DISTRIBUTION		
CATEGORY NAME	CATEGORY NUMBER	TOTAL NO. OF CONSTRUCTS	NO. OF DIFFERENT CONSTRUCTS	EXAMPLE OF MOST COMMON CONSTRUCTS
Status (low)	5b	16	5	Unsuccessful, not ambitious
Organization (low)	3b	15	12	Disorganized, inefficient
Closed to alternatives	10d	14	8	Intolerant, rigid
Emotional Arousal	14a	13	2	Happy
Intellective (high)	7a	6	3	Clever
Intellective (low)	7b	6	3	Not clever
Morality (high)	12a	4	2	Responsible
Morality (low)	12b	3	1	Irresponsible
External appearance	13a	2	2	Dresses well, cares about appearance
External appearance	13b	2	2	Not concerned about appearance
		722*	305	

Note: For 53 grids containing seven bipolar constructs, the total should be 742. However from 10 grids 6 constructs only were derived, making a total of 722.

'uncaring', and Forcefulness (2a and 2b) characterized by constructs such as 'patient', 'contented' in contrast to 'impatient' and 'quick tempered'. These two categories the content of which reflected construing on the 'maternal dimension' (e.g. unselfish, caring, patient etc.), accounted for 40% of the total number of constructs for the sample.

The categories next in importance were those of Social Interaction (1a and 1b), characterized by constructs such as 'sociable', 'friendly' in contrast to 'home centred', 'unsociable', and Factual Description (6a and 6b), characterized by constructs such as 'not interested in children' 'interested in work' in contrast to 'interested in family', 'not interested in work'. These categories reflected the social aspects of the motherhood role in relation to other activities, and accounted for 23% of the total number of constructs used.

Other main dimensions, less generally used to differentiate between the elements were:

Self Sufficiency (4a and 4b) e.g. copes well/does not cope well (7% of total).

Self Reference (8a and 8b) e.g. similar ideas to me/different ideas to me (6% of total).

Status (5a and 5b) e.g. successful/unsuccessful; ambitious/not ambitious (5% of total).

Emotional Arousal (14a and 14b) e.g. Happy/unhappy (5% of total).

Organization (3a and 3b) e.g. efficient/inefficient (4% of total).

Egoism (16) selfish, single minded (4% of total).

Thus Hypothesis I(ii) was confirmed by this analysis: the most salient dimensions of construction (as defined by the most frequently used construct categories to differentiate between the elements), were the maternal dimension, as represented by the categories of 'Tenderness' and 'Forcefulness' (40% of total constructs used), and the social dimension, represented by categories of Social Interaction (1) and Factual Description (6) (23% of the total constructs used).

Other, though relatively less salient dimensions were :- ability to cope (Self Sufficiency: 4), similarity to self (Self Reference; 8), relative status (Status:5), level of emotionality (Emotional Arousal: 14), ability to organize (Organization: 3) and level of self orientation (16).

It is interesting to note that perception of relative status is of low importance in defining the social category of motherhood, as indicated by less usage of the Status category (5) to differentiate between the elements. If, as Oakley (1980) suggests, becoming a mother involves a status passage from work to motherhood, this was not reflected as being of major importance in women's construing of motherhood.

(c.) Relationship between Constructs and Elements

As has been described earlier in Chapter III (Section 1; p.104) the Ingrid analysis (Slater, 1972b) for relationships between constructs and elements as expressed in degrees and cosines was used to derive a list of construct categories most salient for each element both pre and postpartum. Salience was taken to be indicated by a correlation between construct and element

at the 5% level of significance, or above, since Tajfel and Wilkes (1964) took the polarization of judgements on particular dimensions as being indicative of the greater subjective importance of those dimensions, in distinguishing between a set of objects or persons.

This list of construct categories most salient for each element was derived in the following way:-

For each individual (N = 53) the relationship between each construct and each element, as expressed in degrees and cosines was noted, for both the eleven week prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum occasions, negative relationships having first been converted into their positive counterparts (see Chapter II, p. 103 for a more detailed explanation of this procedure). Since the cosine can be considered to be mathematically equivalent to the correlation coefficient, the level of significance of the correlation between construct and element it represented, was established by referring to a table giving levels of significance for values of the correlation coefficient (Table V.A. Fisher, 1958).

By this means the most salient constructs, used to describe each element for the sample as a whole, could be identified. For each element, constructs correlating at the 5% significance level or above, were drawn out from the original data and the angular

distance between construct and element was noted; the constructs were then categorized by the Landfield method (1971). For each element, the number of constructs falling into each category at this level of significance, and also the mean number of degrees, representing the angular relationship between construct category and element, were recorded. This procedure was carried out at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

First of all, considering the content of construct categories most salient for each element, for the sample as a whole, Table 7 summarizes the descriptive characteristics for each element at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum, in terms of the four most used construct categories correlating with elements at the 5% level of significance or above. These are in order of the most to the least used, in terms of the number of constructs in each category. (The relative importance of construct categories in description of elements did not change from pre to postpartum as is discussed later (p.148).

Table 7 shows that:-

The 'maternal dimension', as represented by construct categories of Tenderness (17a and 17b) and Forcefulness (2a and 2b) is most used to differentiate ingroup members (those similar to self) from outgroup members (those dissimilar from self). For instance, the elements 'yourself', 'a good mother', 'close friend' and 'as you would like to be' are described using the construct categories of High Tenderness (17a; e.g. unselfish, cares for children), and Low Forcefulness (patient, contented, calm, easygoing) and the elements 'a career orientated woman' and 'not a good mother' using Low Tenderness (uncaring,

Table 7. A table to show the content of the four most salient construct categories ($p < 0.05$) used to describe each element, at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

Element	Category Number	Category name	Examples of the most common constructs
Yourself	17a	High tenderness	Unselfish, cares for children
	2b	Low forcefulness	Easygoing, tolerant, calm, contented
	6a	Factual description	Interested in children/family
	1b	Social interaction (inactive)	Home centred/reserved
As you would to be	17a	High tenderness	Unselfish, cares for children
	2b	Low forcefulness	Patient, calm, contented
	4a	Self sufficiency	Copes well, independent
	1a	Social interaction (active)	Social, friendly, outgoing
Good mother	17a	High tenderness	Cares for children, unselfish
	2b	Low forcefulness	Patient, contented, calm, easygoing
	1a	Social interaction (active)	Outgoing, sociable, friendly
	1b	Social interaction (inactive)	Home centred, reserved, unsociable
Successful woman	17a	High tenderness	Unselfish, cares for children
	6b	Factual description	Interests outside home/in career
	2a	High forcefulness	Strongminded, quick-tempered, impatient
	4a	Self sufficiency	Confident, independent, copes well

Table 7 continued

Element	Category number	Category Name	Examples of most common constructs
Career orientated woman	6b	Factual description	Not interested in children/but work
	17b	Low tenderness	Does not like children/not understanding
	2a	High forcefulness	Impatient, quick tempered, strong minded
	16	Egoism	Selfish, singleminded.
Not a good mother	17b	Low tenderness	Uncaring, does not care for children
	16	Egoism	Selfish, always puts herself first
	2a	High forcefulness	Quick tempered, tense, impatient
	2b	Low forcefulness	Weak willed, yielding, lazy
Close friend*	17a	High tenderness	Unselfish, cares for children
	2b	Low forcefulness	Easy going, yielding, even tempered
	1a	Social interaction	Sociable, friendly, outgoing
Your mother	17a	High tenderness	Unselfish, cares for children
	2b	Low forcefulness	Patient, contented, calm, easy going
	6a	Factual description	Interested in family/children
	1b	Social interaction	Home orientated, unsociable, reserved

*Note: Constructs in 3 categories only correlated with the element 'a close friend' at the 5% level of significance or above.

does not care for children), Egoism (single minded, selfish, always puts herself first) and High Forcefulness constructs (impatient, quick tempered). Although 'not a good mother' was also described using Low Forcefulness constructs, the content of these was different from when this category was applied to 'ingroup' members, and consisted of constructs such as 'weak willed', 'yielding', 'lazy'. From these results it can be concluded that the 'maternal' dimension is the most salient in differentiating ingroup from outgroup.

The dimension of Factual Description (6) was also used to distinguish between some elements of the ingroup and outgroup. For instance, 'yourself' and 'your mother' were described using constructs in 6a (e.g. interested in home, family), whereas 'a career orientated woman' was described using constructs in category 6b (interested in work, career).

The category of Social Interaction (I) is used in an intra-group context, delineating ingroup differences. For instance Social Interaction: Inactive (1b, e.g. home centred, unsociable, reserved) is used to describe the elements 'yourself', 'your mother' and 'a good mother', and Social Interaction: Active (1a, e.g. sociable, friendly, outgoing) is used to describe the element 'as you would like to be', and is also applied to 'a good mother'. This suggests that there were some differences for the sample as a whole, in characterizing the social aspects of motherhood.

Construing of the element 'a successful woman' again reflects some differences for the sample as a whole in its defining characteristics; for instance, the most used construct category

to describe this element was High Tenderness (17a, unselfish, cares for children); in addition both this element and 'as you would like to be' were described using constructs in the category High Self Sufficiency (4a; e.g. confident, independent, copes well). Use of these categories suggests a perception of 'a successful woman' as being similar to 'ingroup'. However, this element was also described using the categories Factual Description (6b; interests outside the home, in career), and High Forcefulness (2a: e.g. strongminded, quicktempered, impatient) which are used to characterize outgroup.

In looking at changes in the relative importance of construct categories in description of each element, from eleven weeks prepartum to sixteen weeks postpartum, Table 8 shows the number of constructs in each category salient for each element (5% level of significance or above), and the mean number of degrees associating each construct category with each element. Taking the number of constructs in each category as indicative of the relative importance of that category for the description of each element, it can be seen that there was no change, for the sample as a whole over this period, in the usage of construct categories in element description. For instance, for the element 'yourself' category 17a (High Tenderness) was most important in the description of this element, and category 1b (Social Interaction: inactive) the least important. Similarly, there was little evidence to suggest, for the sample as a whole, that the experience of motherhood itself resulted in accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences. This would be indicated by greater

Table 8. A table to show the relative importance of the four most salient construct categories used in description of each element (in terms of the number of constructs in each category) for the whole sample (N=53) on both pre and postpartum occasions.

Element	Construct Category	Prepartum (11 weeks)		Postpartum (16 wks)	
		Number of constructs	Mean No. of 0°	No of constructs	Mean no of 0°
Yourself	17a	41	38.0	43	40.5
	2b	22	36.4	25	38.4
	6a	11	36.6	15	39.3
	1b	12	41.5	10	43.3
As you would like to be	17a	54	37.3	50	36.8
	2b	30	32.4	31	37.0
	4a	16	38.9	16	38.2
	1a	12	37.1	11	41.7
Good mother	17a	46	35.5	41	40.3
	2b	34	34.5	23	41.1
	1b	10	36.5	12	37.8
	1a	8	43.3	14	40.7
Career woman	6b	25	29.9	23	28.6
	17b	22	28.3	17	34.3
	16	19	38.4	12	36.6
	2a	20	33.8	17	34.3
Successful woman	17a	26	39.1	20	40.4
	6b	16	35.4	18	36.3
	2a	17	38.5	13	36.0
	4a	14	38.9	13	40.9
Not a good mother	17b	31	29.6	30	26.5
	16	18	30.9	16	32.3
	2a	17	31.1	18	32.6
	2b	16	34.7	18	37.2
Close friend	17a	27	32.5	32	38.2
	2b	22	38.7	21	44.8
	1a	8	34.8	12	47.7
Your mother	17a	39	35.6	31	36.2
	2b	26	33.3	20	48.3
	6a	14	40.6	12	40.2
	1b	11	34.8	10	33.1

Note: The number of constructs describes the total number in the category correlating with the element at the 5% level of significance or above. The mean number of degrees provides an indication of the relationship between an element and the constructs within a category; the lower the number the higher is the level of correlation.

polarization of judgements in application of construct descriptions to elements in the postpartum period. This was tested in the following way:-

The relationship between each element and each construct category in Table 8 was considered separately; for all the constructs within a particular category, the number of degrees relating that construct to the element was taken at eleven weeks prepartum and this procedure was repeated at sixteen weeks postpartum. Analysis for change over the period was carried out by means of 't' tests of significance for independent samples.

The only significant differences in the use of construct categories in element description, from eleven weeks prepartum to sixteen weeks postpartum, as located by this procedure, was the application of category 2b (Low Forcefulness; e.g. patient, calm, contented) to the element 'good mother' ($t=2.3$, $df=5.5$, $p < 0.05$). As can be seen from Table 8, the number of constructs in this category is smaller on the postpartum occasion, and the mean number of degrees is greater, suggesting that constructs in this category were significantly less likely to be as important in description of the element a 'good mother' at this time. This indicates less, rather than greater polarization of judgements from eleven weeks prepartum to sixteen weeks postpartum. Since usage of constructs in this category increased for the elements 'yourself' and 'as you would like to be' at sixteen weeks postpartum, this finding suggests a reassessment of the ideal mother image, rather than a reevaluation of self as mother, in the light of the experience of motherhood itself.

Thus Hypothesis I iii was only partially confirmed by these results: the maternal dimension was used to differentiate between self and similar others (ingroup) and dissimilar others (outgroup). The category definitive of levels of social interaction (I) was used to delineate intragroup differences. Proposal C was not confirmed by these results; although it appeared that for the sample as a whole, that social identity as a mother, as conceptualized in pregnancy, was confirmed by the experience of motherhood itself, in that no major change occurred in the relative importance of construct categories for elements, there was no evidence to suggest that this led to accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences, i.e. the greater polarization (higher correlation) of construct descriptions for elements.

Summary and Conclusions

From this analysis, the prediction that social identity as a mother would be characterized by subjective identification with own mother, friends, a good mother and ideal self as similar ingroup members (Breen, 1975; Abernethy, 1973b; Gladiux, 1978; Marcos, 1979), in comparison to work orientated figures as outgroup (from Hock, 1978; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981), was confirmed for the sample as a whole. The prediction that the most salient dimensions used to differentiate between the elements would be the maternal dimension and the social dimension (Breen, 1975; Hoffman, 1978; Westbrook, 1979; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981), was also confirmed for the sample as a whole.

It was considered that the maternal dimension as defined by the construct categories 'Tenderness' and 'Forcefulness', was the most salient dimension used to differentiate self and similar others (ingroup) from dissimilar others (outgroup), and that the category reflecting differing levels of social contact (Social Interaction I) was the most salient in characterizing intragroup differences.

Although the experience of motherhood was considered to be confirmatory of the 'hypothesized' social identity as a mother established in pregnancy, as evidenced by no consistent changes in the relative importance or salience of construct categories for elements, there was no evidence to suggest that this led to accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences. This proposition was derived from Tajfel (1978), that the greater the emotional significance or value connotation of an ingroup membership, the more accentuated intraclass similarities and interclass differences would become. In this study it was assumed that the experience of motherhood itself, if confirmatory of a conceptualized social identity established in pregnancy, would heighten the emotional significance attached to ingroup identification. The only notable change in the construing of the elements from pre to postpartum, was less usage of the category Low Forcefulness (2b) to describe the element 'a good mother'. Although Breen (1975) associated less usage of the maternal dimension generally in the postpartum period, with a movement away from an 'idealised' conception of motherhood, she did not locate this change with construing of particular elements; in this study, because the change in construing on the Low Forcefulness category related to the element 'a good mother' rather than self or ideal self, it was considered to be an indication of a less idealised mother image, rather than a reassessment of 'self as mother' in more realistic terms as Breen (1975) suggested.

However, the general lack of change in conceptualization of social identity as a mother from pregnancy to early motherhood must not be taken to imply that this aspect of self concept remains constant throughout the childbearing years. If we compare the results of this study with those of McCoy (1985), who looked at identity transition for women undergoing voluntary sterilization (that is, at the end rather than the beginning of the childbearing years), we can see that a change does occur within the broader context of lifespan development. McCoy used Identity Structure Analysis (Weinreich, 1985) as a method for examining identity change; by using this method it is possible to look at current, past and ideal self image in relation to positive or negative role models (persons or groups that either have, or have not, the attributes associated with aspects of self image). He found that, when compared with a control group, the sterilization group showed a higher level of identity conflict prior to surgery (approx. 4 weeks). This was related to ascription of negative qualities to family members and close friends; for instance, best friends were seen as people who did not admit their faults readily, and own mother was seen as unfulfilled, and in some cases inconsiderate. The changes occurring after surgery (approx. 3.7 mths) for the sterilization group were significantly reduced identity conflict, and a significant increase in ideal identification with a working woman. Thus, in contrast to the results in this study, where self was identified with own mother and close friend as similar ingroup members, and distinguished from a career orientated woman as outgroup, it seems that at the end of the childbearing years, working women were more likely to be perceived as ingroup, and own mother and close friend as outgroup. This difference emphasizes the importance of regarding social identity as relative to particular social contexts, and thus, as changing in the course of lifespan development.

Finally, perceived status relationships between ingroup and outgroup

did not appear to be a major dimension of construing for the sample as a whole, since constructs falling into the category of Status (5) accounted for only 5% of the total number used. This casts doubt on the assumption of Social Identity Theory, that, as Turner (1982) points out, perception of relative status is an important factor when comparing self to others in terms of social category membership, and on Oakley's (1980) assumption that the transition to motherhood is experienced as a status passage from one status group (that of working) to another (that of mothering).

However, although relative status was not a major dimension defining the social category of motherhood, differences in construing of the element 'a successful woman' for the sample as a whole, did indicate some disagreement as to the perception of motherhood as an activity associated with 'success'. Thus, even though this element was perceived on average to be similar to rather than distant from self (mean distance = 0.8) it was described using constructs characterizing both ingroup (e.g. High Tenderness: High Self Sufficiency) and outgroup (High Forcefulness: Factual Description (is interested in work)). This suggested that a 'successful woman' could either be a mother, or 'career orientated woman'. Alternatively, this could be interpreted as indicating that 'success' is perceived in terms of the possession of qualities perceived to be important for successful mothering as well as those perceived to be important for success at work.

All these points will be further discussed in relation to variations in the positivity of social identity associated with sociohistorical variables, the planning decision, satisfaction with motherhood and feelings for the baby. The results of these analyses are presented in the next sections.

II. VARIATIONS IN THE POSITIVITY OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AS A MOTHER:
their relationship to antecedent social factors and
motherhood outcomes

In order to explore variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother, in relation to antecedent social factors and motherhood outcomes, it is necessary to look initially at the inter-relationship between sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes, in the context of which identification with, and conceptualization of 'self' in relation to the social category 'mother', can then be examined.³

(a) The Interrelationship between Sociohistorical Variables.

The predictions concerning the interrelationship between sociohistorical variables were as follows:

Hypothesis II: Mothers who have less education are likely to have jobs lower in the occupational scale (Gladieux, 1978; Oakley, 1980) and to be younger (Hoffman, 1978): Mothers with lower educational and occupational status are also more likely to:

- (a) Have worked for fewer years and to anticipate returning to work comparatively later (from Jimenez, 1977).
- (b) To have more traditional attitudes about the role of women in society (Gladieux, 1978; Hoffman, 1978; Oakley, 1980) than women with higher education and occupational status.

3. When data from the interview material is used to illustrate points, in this and the ensuing sections of results, all the names used are pseudonyms in order to preserve confidentiality for the subjects.

In order to investigate the predicted relationship between the sociohistorical variables of age, occupation, education, number of years worked, anticipated time before return to work and attitudes towards women, a Multiple Regression analysis was used. Unlike Principle Components Analysis (see p.101), which is based on the assumption that variables arise on an equal footing and thus looks at the association (or correlation) between a number of variables, Multiple Regression models assume that variables do not arise on an equal footing, but are based on the assumption that there are dependent variables and explanatory (or predictor) variables. (Chatfield and Collins, 1980). Thus Multiple Regression procedures explain the variation in one dependent variable by means of the variation in several explanatory variables (Chatfield and Collins, 1980). In order initially to identify the relationship between the sociohistorical variables i.e. which were the predictor variables (explanatory) and which were the dependent variables (those which could be predicted), a Stepwise Regression analysis was performed. Each of the six variables was taken individually as the dependent variable and subject to a Stepwise Regression analysis, using the other five as predictors; this provided a way of eliminating predictors which were not relevant to a variable (ie not significantly related to it) and maintaining those which were the most effective predictors (Ryan: Joiner: Ryan, 1981).

Each variable was then taken individually, and subject to regression analyses with the predictors revealed by the stepwise regression procedure.(Ryan. Joiner. Ryan, 1976). If there was

more than one predictor for a variable, each predictor was regressed singly and then multiply in order to see which one was the most important, whether each gave rise to prediction in its own right, and how using them in relationship to one another affected the outcome of the prediction. The significant relationships between the sociohistorical variables, identified by this procedure, are displayed in Table 9.

As this table shows:

Level of Education was a predictor of

- (a) Occupation ($F=18.1$ $df= 51$ $p < 0.001$). The direction of the prediction was that the lower the level of education, the lower the occupation in the occupational scale.
- (b) Age ($F=5.9$, $df=51$, $p<0.02$). The direction of the prediction was that the lower the level of education the younger the age. Thus Hypothesis II was confirmed.

Level of education was also a predictor of Attitudes toward Women ($F=6.3$; $df=51$ $p < 0.02$). The direction of the prediction was that the lower the level of education, the more likely the women were to have traditional views about the role of women in society (as measured by the AWS). Thus Hypothesis IIb was confirmed in relation to level of education, but not occupation.

In addition, Level of Education and Age were predictors Number of Years Worked ($F=222.2$, $df=50$ $p < 0.001$), though level of education had no power of prediction on its own, whereas age did ($F = 137.7$, $df=51$, $p < 0.001$). The direction of the prediction

Table 9. The significant relationships ($P < 0.05$) between sociohistorical variables as revealed by regression analyses

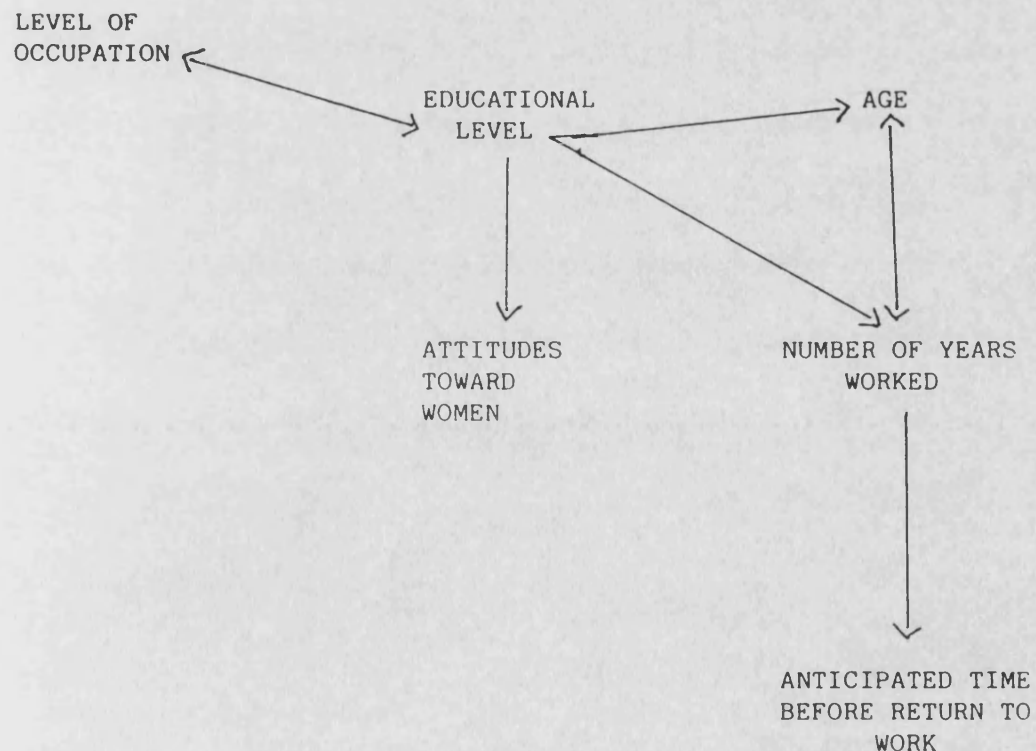
	Predictor variable	Variable	r	R ² (adjusted for df)	F	p	df
*	Education	Occupation	0.51	24.7	18.1	.001	51
	Education	Age	-0.32	8.6	5.9	.02	51
	Education	Attitudes toward women	-0.33	8.7	6.3	.02	51
*	Age	Number of years worked	0.85	72.3	137.1	.001	51
	Age and education	Number of years worked	-0.94	89.9	222.2	.001	50
	Number of years worked	Anticipated months/years before return to work postpartum	0.33	8.8	6.4	.02	51

Note: * indicates that either one of the variables is both predictive of and predicted by the other

was that younger women, with lower levels of education, were more likely to have worked for fewer years.

Number of Years worked itself was a predictor of Anticipated Time before Return to Work ($F = 6.4$, $df = 51$, $p < 0.02$). The direction of the prediction was that women who had worked for fewer years were more likely to anticipate returning to work sooner, than those women who had worked for longer periods of time. Thus Hypothesis IIa was not confirmed.

Figure 3: Summary of significant relationships between sociohistorical variables as revealed by regression analyses



Key: \longleftrightarrow both a predictor of and predicted by
 \longrightarrow predictor of

Discussion.

Thus Hypotheses II and IIb were confirmed; at the time of motherhood, women with lower levels of education were more likely to have jobs lower in the occupational scale, to be younger, and to have more traditional attitudes towards the role of women in society, than those women with higher levels of education. Women who were less highly educated were also more likely to have worked for fewer years but to anticipate returning to work sooner than those women who were more highly educated, thus disconfirming Hypothesis IIb.

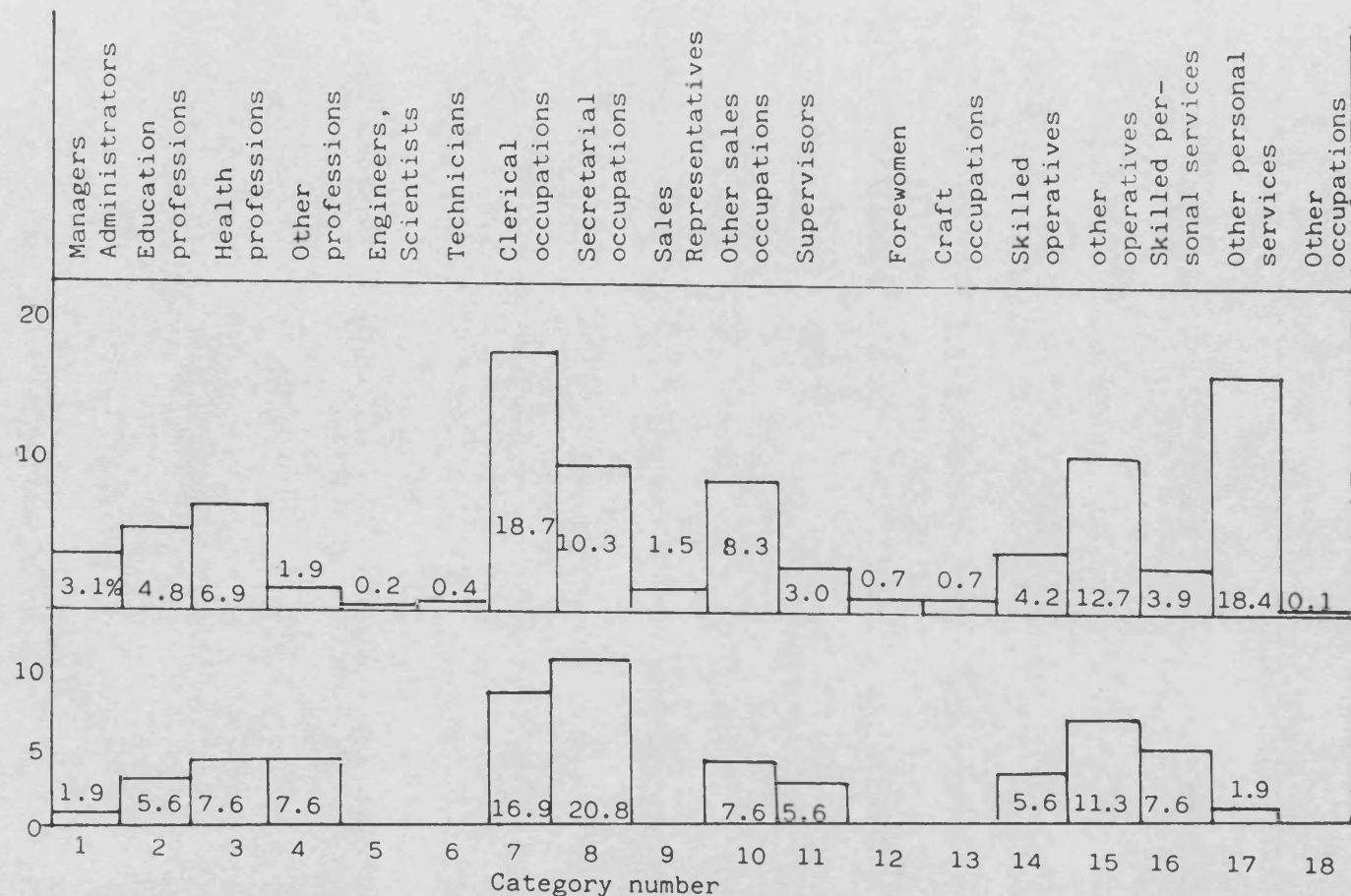
It was supposed from previous studies (Jimenez, 1977: Oakley, 1980) that women with higher educational and occupational status would anticipate returning to work sooner because of a greater commitment to work. That this was not the case suggests that other factors relating to work experience might account for anticipated time before return to work.

Patterns of Work Experience and Anticipated Time before Return to Work.

That the occupations of the women in the present study were representative of those of British women in general can be shown by comparison of the pattern of women's occupations for this study with the findings of Elias and Main (1982).

Fig. 4 compares the distribution of occupations for the sample used in the present study (n=53) with that of Elias and Main's National Training survey (1982), which was conducted from 1975-1976 using the same classification of occupations, but based on a much larger

Fig. 4. Histograms to compare the distribution of womens' occupations for the present study and the National Training Survey, using the MRC/EOC classification.



Note: The uppermost histogram shows the distribution of womens occupations from the National Training Survey (Elias and Main: 1982). The lower histogram shows the distribution of womens occupations for the present study (N=53)

sample (54,000 people in total received questionnaires).

The only difference between the two samples was in the category of 'other personal service occupations' which includes unskilled occupations such as waitresses, cleaners, dinner ladies etc. In the National Training Survey this category accounted for 18.9% of womens occupations, whereas in the present study only 1.9% of occupations were located in this category. The difference can be accounted for by the fact that the National Training Survey covered womens occupations at all stages of their life cycle, whereas for this study, the occupation recorded was that at conception, or up to two years before. Elias and Main (1982) found that the time women entered unskilled personal service occupations was when re-entering the labour market after a spell at home with the children, when part-time, rather than full time work was a priority. Often women from more skilled occupational groups tended to take unskilled work, because it was available on a part-time basis.

These findings suggest that the availability of part-time work, and changing patterns of work resulting from motherhood are important explanatory factors when looking at the anticipated time before return to work.

In this study anticipated time before return to work was significantly positively correlated with anticipated occupational status on return to work at sixteen weeks postpartum ($\rho=0.3$ $df=51$ $p < 0.05$) the median anticipated time before return to work being

when the children were of primary school age (5-11 years) and the median occupational status being part-time (under 30 hours) employment.

Furthermore, data from the interview material revealed that women returning to work soonest had occupations in which part-time work was readily available. For instance, of the women who were already working at the time of the final interview (sixteen weeks postpartum), or who were intending to work before their children were of primary school age (this group comprised 15% of the total sample), three were in education or nursing professions, three in unskilled personal service occupations, and three women were working from home, two as computer programmers and one running a word processing business.

This data reflects two of the findings of the National Training Survey (Elias and Main, 1982) relating to the kinds of occupations available to mothers returning to work on a part-time basis; firstly that part-time work is more available in the 'unskilled other personal service' occupations (ie cleaners, dinner ladies, etc.) and secondly that women with nursing and teaching qualifications accumulate more work experience than average, as part-time work is available in these professions.

It is to be noted that the National Training Survey and other recent surveys of womens work patterns (eg Joshi, et al., 1985) fail to isolate the other group of women working before their children were of school age, those women working from home. These women are usually included in the equivalent occupational

classifications and status to being engaged in paid employment outside the home (Elias pers.comm 1984). In this study, women intending to work from home rather than returning to work accounted for 15% of the sample as a whole, thus representing a minority of the sample, but one that should not be ignored. If, as this study suggests, anticipated time before return to work related to occupational status and the availability of part-time work, it is important in an understanding of this, to separate those women who are engaged in paid employment at home from those returning to work outside the home, as these reflect a differing orientation to the balancing of work and childcare and thus affect the decision as to when to return to work postpartum (the necessity for a more definitive categorization of womens' occupations has been more fully discussed in Chapter III (pp 108-112)).

Although beyond the scope of this study, it would also be interesting to see how the pattern of availability of part-time work from home differs from that of part-time work outside the home, and also from part-time unpaid work.

That decisions about returning to work related to balancing the importance of work and childcare as reflected in a desire to work part-time, is illustrated by the interview material concerning reasons for this decision.

For women intending to work in the preschool years (15% of the sample), financial necessity (9%) and enjoyment of work (6%) were the reasons given; Ms. Holt, a state enrolled nurse, gives her reason for returning to work part-time as "money mostly, every

little helps- but if I get back and find that we can't cope, I'll have to pack it in", and Ms. Loftus, a computer systems analyst explains her work plans thus; "I'd like to continue doing some work if possible, to keep up my interest - it would have to be part-time and from home I think - I wouldn't want to put the baby in a nursery, or anywhere else for that matter".

For women delaying work until their children were at either primary or secondary school (66% of the sample), reasons given revolved around the wish to be at home when their children were young, either because they generally enjoyed the combination of childcare and being at home (51%), or because they wanted to actively participate in their child's early development (15%). Typical of the responses of this group of women were Ms. Russell, a clerical officer who says; "I really appreciated my own mother being at home when I was growing up and also I don't see any point in having a family if I don't intend to see the development of the child". Also Ms. Dalton, a production worker, who says; "I think that one should be at home with the child so that you can bring them up, so that they know who you are and so that you can get a better relationship with them".

Finally, of those women who preferred not to work at all (19% of the sample), all enjoyed being at home, mostly because of independence from the routine of working and its consequence of freeing them to organize their own lives and pursue their own interests (13%), but also because of the tediousness of the work they were doing (5%). For example Ms. Cowie, a personal secretary, prefers not to work because; "I've got plenty to do at

home; I'm sure I shall be quite busy. I do a lot of riding and organizing of events at the stables - and I'd rather not go back unless financially essential", and Ms. Coombs, an audio typist, felt that "work was boring and mundane and there was so much pressure all the time....its a great feeling of relief not to have to answer to anybody else, and to do what you want when you want".

This last group of comments is interesting in providing some insight into the finding that older women, who had worked for longer periods of time, tended to anticipate returning to work later than those women who had worked for fewer years. It would seem that the longer the time spent at work, the less desire to return at this particular stage in time. Although this decision represents only anticipated time before return to work, as actual time before return could not be monitored by this study, the decision was not changed for the sample as a whole by the experience of motherhood. When individuals scores were paired and compared for anticipated time before return to work at eleven weeks pre and sixteen weeks postpartum, by use of the Mann Whitney test, no significant difference was found between the two periods ($W=3009.5; p < 0.28, df=53$). Jimenez's findings (1977) similarly suggest that plans about working were made prepartum and not significantly changed after the arrival of the baby, the median anticipated time before return to work being when the child was five years old.

The mean number of years worked for the women preferring not to return to work at all, or not to return until their children had left school ($N=9$) was ten years, so that it is quite plausible that these women would prefer to do other things for a time,

especially if their occupations offered them no inherent satisfaction. Also, in taking the women who had worked for ten years or more (N=13). about two thirds of these women (63%) had clerical or secretarial occupations, jobs not always adaptable to part-time status, or school hours.

Thus anticipated time before return to work, rather than being associated with occupational level per se, can be seen more clearly to be related to a desire to work part-time on returning to the labour market, and therefore the availability of work on a part-time basis.

Summary

By using stepwise regression procedures and single and multiple regression analyses to investigate the relationship between sociohistorical variables, it was found that women with lower levels of education were more likely to have jobs lower in the occupational scale, to be younger, and to have more traditional attitudes towards the role of women in society. Younger women, with lower levels of education, were also more likely to have worked for fewer years and anticipate returning to work sooner, than those women who had worked for longer.

(b) The Relationship between Sociohistorical Variables and

Motherhood Outcomes

The investigation of the relationship between sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes were

designed to test the prediction in Hypothesis IIc that women with lower educational and/or occupational status will experience more satisfaction with motherhood than those women with higher educational and occupational status. (Hoffman, 1978; Oakley, 1980).

These predictions were tested by means of correlating each of the sociohistorical variables with the 'satisfaction with motherhood' measure derived from the interview material (for a fuller description of this measure see Chapter III p.126). The non-parametric Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient was used for this purpose, as 'satisfaction with motherhood' was measured by a ranking procedure.

Measures of feelings towards the baby, although not predicted to be related to sociohistorical variables, were also correlated with these variables for exploratory purposes. The Baby Questionnaires I and II were related to sociohistorical variables by means of the stepwise regression procedure(p.155) and 'first feelings when the baby was born' by means of contingency table analyses, using the Chi square test of significance.

Results and Discussion

The only significant relationship revealed by these analyses was between age and satisfaction with motherhood ($\rho = 0.29$, $df=51$, $p < 0.05$); this positive correlation indicated that younger mothers were more likely to express more satisfaction with motherhood. Thus Hypothesis IIc was not confirmed.

As the results in the previous section have shown, women who were younger at conception were also more likely to be less highly educated, and to have worked for fewer years. The combination of age and education, as the antecedent social factors predictive of 'satisfaction with motherhood' is in keeping with Hoffman's (1978) results. Hoffman used a much larger sample (1,559 married American women under forty years old), and found that, in evaluating the difference a first child made to a woman's role, older women were more highly educated, and were less positive about motherhood, in terms of more emphasis on negative aspects of mothering such as more responsibilities, worries and restrictions. The less educated women who were younger, emphasized more positive aspects of mothering, such as fulfilment and opportunities for loving and giving.

Whereas Hoffman's (ibid) findings were derived from content analysis of interview material relating to changes having children brought to a woman's life, including specifically the restrictions of being a mother, the 'satisfaction with motherhood' measure in this study was based on a content analysis of interview material focusing on women's feelings about being a mother and how they felt

they had been personally changed by the experience.

Despite this difference, and also the difference in size of the sample and sampling technique (Hoffmar's interviews reflected reterospective data from multiparous women up to forty years of age, and concerned how the birth of their first child had affected their role), the responses were very similar. In this study 38% of women expressed high satisfaction with motherhood, 36% medium and 26% low satisfaction with motherhood. Typical of the responses in the former category, which were more likely to be from younger women, with less education, were that motherhood was generally a most enjoyable experience, which had brought more confidence and maturity and the development of patience and understanding. For instance Ms. Banks was very positive about being a mother at sixteen weeks postpartum; she says "I am so proud of the baby, my self confidence has gone up....when I left work anyway I felt more confident and less worried about things and having the baby has made me feel better still".

Responses illustrative of low satisfaction with motherhood, which were more likely to be expressed by older women with more education, revolved around worrying about the baby's well being and its dependence, feeling more tied down and a greater responsibility, and with less time to concentrate on themselves. For instance Ms. Sullivan did not express such satisfaction with motherhood at sixteen weeks postpartum; she says "being a mother is what I expected it to be, apart from being a lot more time consuming than I envisaged.....sometimes I think I've become

boring, I think it's basically because I don't get out - it's when I stop and write letters to my friends and I think what can I tell them I've done ... well I haven't done anything'.

There was no relationship between previous occupation or anticipated time before return to work, and satisfaction with motherhood. Thus there was no evidence to suggest, from these results, that women experiencing less satisfaction with motherhood had jobs higher in the occupational scale prior to conception, or anticipated returning to work sooner in the postpartum period, as would have been expected from Oakley's (1980) and Jimenez's (1977) studies. It was older women, who were more highly educated, and had worked for longer, who experienced less satisfaction with motherhood. Results in the previous section indicate that these women anticipated returning to work comparatively later, or not at all; they felt that work no longer offered them any satisfaction, and they would prefer to be doing other things.

Summary

It was found that younger women, who were also less highly educated, and had worked for fewer years, expressed more satisfaction with motherhood than older women who were more highly educated and had worked for longer. Greater satisfaction with motherhood was associated with an emphasis on the qualitative aspects of the role, such as development of patience and understanding, and confidence and maturity, and less satisfaction by an emphasis on the social

implications of motherhood, such as less time for oneself, feeling tied down, and greater responsibility. There was no evidence associating less satisfaction with motherhood, with higher occupational status prior to conception, or a desire to return to work sooner.

Having located the interrelationship between sociohistorical variables and motherhood outcomes, it is now possible to examine the extent to which these are predictive of variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother.

(c) Variations in Social Identity as a Mother arising from Previous Social Experience and the Experience of Motherhood itself.

The analysis of results in this section relate to the predictions in Hypothesis III:

A: that lower educational and/or occupational status and associated variables will be predictive of a more positive social identity as a mother (from Gladieux, 1978; Hoffman, 1978; Westbrook, 1979; Oakley, 1980) as characterized by:

- (i) Perception of self as more similar to ideal self (Zajicek, 1979) and a good mother figure (Breen, 1975; Marcos, 1979).
- (ii) subjective identification with own mother and friends as similar ingroup members (Breen, 1975; Abernethy, 1973; Gladieux, 1978; Marcos, 1979), in comparison to work orientated figures as outgroup (from Hock, 1978; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981).
- (iii) More frequent usage of constructs on the maternal dimension

(Hoffman, 1978; Westbrook, 1979; Pistrang, 1981), and the usage of the positive poles of these constructs to describe self and similar ingroup members, and the contrastive poles of these constructs to describe outgroup.

B: that a more positive social identity will be associated with greater satisfaction with motherhood in the postpartum period (Oakley, 1980).

In order to look at variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother that could be associated with each sociohistorical variable and 'satisfaction with motherhood', the subjects were first divided into the following groups, according to their responses on each variable:

Occupational classification. Subjects were divided into three groups: (1) professional occupations, (2) clerical and secretarial, including other non manual occupations, and (3) manual and other personal service occupations.

Anticipated time before return to work (16 weeks postpartum occasion). Subjects were divided into four groups according to whether women stated they intended to return to work (1) before their children started school (0-5 yrs), (2) at primary school age (5-11 yrs), (3) at secondary school age (11-18) or (4) did not intend to work at all.

Age. Subjects were divided into the following four groups: (1) 16-20 yrs, (2) 21-25 yrs, (3) 26-30 yrs, and (4) 31 yrs and over.

Education: Subjects divided into three groups, (1) those women with educational qualifications above 'A' level, (2) those with qualifications from CSEs to 'A' levels and (3) those with no educational qualifications.

Number of years worked: Subjects were divided into four groups: (1) worked for 0-3 years, (2) 4-7 years, (3) 8-11 years, and (4) 12 years+

Attitudes toward Women Scale: Subjects divided into three groups: (1) Low scores, representing traditional orientation, (2) medium scores, representing liberal orientation and (3) high scores, representing a radical orientation.

Satisfaction with motherhood: Subjects divided into three groups: (1) high, (2) medium, (3) low satisfaction.

For each of these variables, the groupings were then used to divide subjects' responses on the three measures from the motherhood grid.

The three measures used from the motherhood grid for this analysis were (i) Identifications, that is distance of self from the other elements on the grid at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum (from the 'Distance between Elements' table on the Ingrid program). (ii) Frequency of Construct Usage, that is usage of each of the main construct categories (Tenderness (17) Forcefulness (2) Factual description (6) Social Interaction (1)

and Egoism (16)) by each of the subjects at eleven weeks prepartum and (iii) Relationship between Constructs and Elements, that is scores for each subject on the four most frequently used construct categories for each element, at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum (from tables of 'Relationships between Constructs and Elements' on the Ingrid program, as expressed in degrees.).

The scores assembled by this procedure were then subject to one way ANOVA, in order to identify relationships between the grid measures, and sociohistorical variables and satisfaction with motherhood, and to look at changes pre to postpartum.

Since one way ANOVA identifies only the fact that the means for groups are not homogenous, if a significant relationship was located, the means of a grid measure for the subgroups of a variable were paired and subject to 't' tests in order to locate those subgroups accounting for significant differences.

The results of these analyses for all three grid measures will first be presented separately for each variable, and then summarized in light of the interrelationship between variables discussed in Chapter IV, section IIa and b.

4. The category of Egoism (16 e.g. selfish, singleminded etc.) was not identified as one of the construct categories most frequently used to differentiate between the elements for the sample as a whole (p. 138). It was included in this analysis because it was considered to represent a component of the 'tenderness' dimension; the contrastive poles of constructs in the category of High Tenderness (17a e.g. unselfish, cares for children) were divided by the process of categorization into two distinct categories, Low Tenderness (17b e.g. uncaring, does not care for children) and Egoism (16 e.g. selfish, single minded etc.)

(i) Sociohistorical Variables and Variations in the Positivity
of Social Identity as a Mother

The tables in this section were assembled in the following way:

When a significant relationship was identified between a variable and a grid measure by means of a one way ANOVA, the means on that measure for the subgroupings of that variable were noted. Thus for the measure of identification the mean distances from the element 'yourself' are given; for frequency of construct usage, the mean number of constructs falling into a category, and for the relationship between constructs and elements, the mean number of degrees relating a particular construct category to an element. For this latter measure, a smaller number of degrees generally indicates less usage of a construct description for an element, and a greater number of degrees, more usage of a construct description for an element; this is the case because when a subject did not use a particular construct category in the description of an element, it was scored as 0.

The columns of the tables are the subgroupings of a particular variable, and the rows, the means for a particular measure relating to those subgroupings.

If a significant relationship between a grid measure and a variable was identified, either at eleven weeks prepartum or sixteen weeks postpartum, the results for both occasions are presented, in order to identify change over time. The exception to this are results for 'frequency of construct usage'; this measure relates to the eleven weeks prepartum occasion only, since this was when the constructs were elicited.

Number of years worked (Table 10).

't' tests on the significant results in each row of Table 10 revealed that:
Women who had worked for fewer years (0-7 years) were significantly more likely than those who had worked for comparatively longer (8-11 years), to see themselves as more similar to 'your mother' at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=4.6$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.01$), and more similar to 'your mother' ($F=3.3$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.05$), 'a good mother' ($F=4.8$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.01$), and a 'close friend' ($F=5.0$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.01$) at sixteen weeks postpartum.

Women who had worked for comparatively fewer years (4-7) were significantly more likely than those who had worked for longer (8-11 years), to be using Low Forcefulness (2b, patient, calm, contented) constructs to differentiate between the elements, and to describe the element 'as you would like to be' using these constructs at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=4.2$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.05$). Low Forcefulness constructs were also more likely to be used to describe the elements 'as you would like to be' ($F=3.4$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.05$), and 'your mother' ($F=8.0$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.001$) at sixteen weeks postpartum.

However, women who had worked for comparatively fewer years (4-7) were significantly less likely than those women who had worked for somewhat longer (8-11 years) to be using High Egoism constructs (16, selfish, always puts herself first) to describe 'a career orientated woman' at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=2.9$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.01$) and sixteen weeks postpartum ($F=5.4$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.01$), and Low Tenderness constructs (17b, e.g. uncaring, does not care for children) to describe the element 'not a good mother' at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=5.0$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.01$).

Table 10 To show the significant relationships (as identified by one way ANOVA) between 'Number of Years Worked' and the construing of motherhood, at 11 weeks prepartum and 16 weeks postpartum.

GRID MEASURE		PREPARTUM (11 weeks)						POSTPARTUM (16 weeks)					
1 Identification		Mean distance of elements from yourself						Mean distance of elements from yourself					
	Construct category	n ₁ =10	n ₂ =23	n ₃ =14	n ₄ =6	F	P	n ₁ =10	n ₂ =23	n ₃ =14	n ₄ =6	F	P
	Your mother	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.7	4.6	0.01	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.8	3.3	0.05
	Good mother	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6	2.2	ns	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.7	4.8	0.01
	Close friend	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.7	1.8	ns	0.6	0.6	1.0	0.7	5.0	0.01
2 Frequency of construct usage		Mean number of constructs used											
Low Forcefulness	2b	1.2	1.7	0.7	1.0	3.9	0.05	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Relationship between constructs and elements		Mean no of degrees between construct category and element											
Career orientated woman	16	30	9	29	31	2.9	0.05	33	6	22	47	5.4	0.01
As you would like to be	2b	14	39	18	18	4.2	0.05	20	40	20	13	3.4	0.05
Your mother	2b	24	43	25	20	1.8	ns	26	57	19	13	8.0	0.001
Not a good mother	17b	11	10	34	14	5.0	0.01	9.7	18	34	22	2.2	ns

Key: n₁ = worked for 0-3 years; n₂ = 4-7 years; n₃ = 8-11 years; n₄ = 11 years+
df= 3,49 for all calculations in the table.

Thus it would appear that women who had worked for comparatively fewer years expressed a more positive social identity, than women who had worked for somewhat longer; this was indicated by greater identification with own mother, good mother and a close friend, greater usage of constructs in the maternal dimension (2b Low Forcefulness), and use of this dimension to describe ideal self and own mother. This was not established however in direct contrast to outgroup, since the elements 'a career orientated woman' and 'not a good mother' were less likely to be described using the contrastive categories of the maternal dimension (17b 'Low Tenderness': 16 Egoism).

Age (Table 11)

't' tests of the significant results in each row of Table 11 revealed that:

Women who were oldest (31+) were significantly more likely than women who were somewhat younger (21-25 yrs) to be using constructs in the category of High Egoism to differentiate between the elements at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=3.2$, $df=3.49$, $p < 0.05$). The oldest women were also significantly more likely to be using constructs in the category of Social Interaction Active (1a, e.g. friendly, outgoing, sociable) to describe the element: 'as you would like to be' at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=3.6$, $df=3.49$, $p < 0.05$), and sixteen weeks postpartum ($F=4.1$, $df=3.49$, $p < 0.01$), and 'a close friend' and 'good mother' at sixteen weeks postpartum ($F=4.2$, $df=3.49$, $p < 0.01$) ($F=3.4$, $df=3.49$, $p < 0.05$). They were also significantly more likely to be using constructs in category 6b: Factual Description (e.g. interests outside home, in work) to describe 'a successful woman' at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=2.9$, $df=3.49$, $p < 0.05$).

Table 11. To show the significant relationships (as identified by one way ANOVA) between 'Age' and the construing of motherhood, at 11 weeks prepartum and 16 weeks postpartum.

GRID MEASURE		PREPARTUM (11 weeks)						POSTPARTUM (16 weeks)					
2 Frequency of construct usage		Mean number of constructs used											
	Construct category	n ₁ =8	n ₂ =25	n ₃ =11	n ₄ =9	F	P	n ₁ =8	n ₂ =25	n ₃ =11	n ₄ =9	F	P
High Egoism	16	0.7	0.5	0.3	1.0	3.2	0.05	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 Relationship between constructs and elements		Mean no of degrees between construct category and element											
Successful woman	6b	10	19	11	41	2.9	0.05	13	23	18	30	0.7	ns
Successful woman	2a	43	29	15	14	1.9	ns	30	35	12	0	2.9	0.05
Good mother	1a	14	23	4	23	1.6	ns	12	12	8	38	3.4	0.05
Career orientated woman	16	27	13	20	34	1.7	ns	33	10	11	45	5.2	0.01
Close friend	2b	48	38	33	5	3.4	0.05	22	33	26	9	1.9	ns
Close friend	1a	18	16	20	35	0.9	ns	9	22	16	53	4.2	0.01
As you would like to be	1a	12	19	5	40	3.6	0.05	10	24	12	55	4.1	0.01
Your mother	2b	30	35	36	23	.04	ns	20	50	34	13	4.2	0.01

Key: n₁ = 16-20 years; n₂ = 21-25 years; n₃ = 26-30 years; n₄ = 31+
df= 3,49 for all the results in this table.

Women who were somewhat younger (21-25), were significantly more likely than the oldest women (31+), to be using constructs in category of High Forcefulness (2a; e.g. impatient, quick tempered, strongminded) to describe 'a successful woman' at eleven weeks prepartum, and to be using constructs in the category of Low Forcefulness (2b; e.g. patient calm contented) to describe 'a close friend' at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=3.4$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.05$), and 'your mother' at sixteen weeks postpartum ($F=4.1$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.01$).

Thus the variable of age accounted for some differences in the construing of 'ingroup' members, particularly in the postpartum period; women who were somewhat younger comparing 'your mother' and 'a close friend' with a 'successful woman' on the maternal dimension(2) and the oldest women perceiving ideal self, good mother, and a successful woman as being similar on the social dimension (Categories 1 and 6).

Education(Table 12)

't' tests on the significant results in each row of Table 12 revealed that:

Women with the highest educational qualifications (above 'A' levels) were significantly more likely to use constructs in the Low Tenderness category (uncaring, does not like children etc.), than women in the middle educational group (CSEs to 'A' levels inclusive), to differentiate between the elements at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=3.3$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.05$).

Table 12 To show the significant relationships (as identified by one way ANOVA) between 'Education' and the construing of motherhood at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

GRID MEASURE		PREPARTUM (11 weeks)					POSTPARTUM (16 weeks)					
2	Frequency of construct usage	Mean no of constructs used										
	CONSTRUCT CATEGORY	n ₁ = 10	n ₂ = 35	n ₃ = 8	F	P	n ₁ = 10	n ₂ = 35	n ₃ = 8	F	P	
	Low Tenderness	17b	1.4	0.6	1.1	3.3	0.05	-	-	-	-	-
3	Relationship between constructs and elements	Mean degrees between constructs and element										
	Successful woman	17a	50	23	52	4.7	0.05	33	32	30	0.02	ns
	Successful woman	2a	6	25	57	8.2	0.001	11	24	35	1.5	ns

Key: n_1 = Above 'A' levels; n_2 = CSE - 'A' levels ; n_3 = No educational qualifications.
df = 2,50 for all the results in the table.

Women in the middle educational group (CSEs - 'A' levels) were significantly less likely to describe 'a successful woman' using High Tenderness constructs (17a, e.g. unselfish, cares for children, etc.) at eleven weeks prepartum, than the other two groups ($F=4.7$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.05$). Women with no educational qualifications were significantly more likely to use High Forcefulness constructs (2a, e.g. impatient, quick tempered, etc.), to describe 'a successful woman' at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=8.2$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.001$). Thus the variable of education was related to differential use of the maternal dimension (categories 17 and 2) and its application to 'a successful woman' in the prepartum period.

Anticipated Time before Return to Work (Table 13)

In these results the variation is accounted for by contrasting categorization of elements by women who intend to return to work when their children are of primary school age (5-11 years), as against those who would return when their children were grown up, or did not want to return at all (18 yrs +/- never).

't' tests on the significant results in each row of Table 13 revealed that:

Women who intended to return to work later (18 yrs+) were more likely to use Social Interaction: Active constructs (1a, sociable, friendly, outgoing etc.) to describe the element 'as you would like to be', than women who intended to return earlier (5-11 years) at both eleven weeks prepartum ($F=2.9$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.05$) and sixteen weeks postpartum ($F=3.7$, $df=3,49$, $p < 0.05$).

Women who intended to return to work sooner (children 5-11 years) were significantly more likely to describe 'a close friend'

Table 13. To show the significant relationships (as identified by one way ANOVA) between 'Anticipated Time before Return to Work' and the construing of motherhood, at 11 weeks prepartum and 16 weeks postpartum.

GRID MEASURE		PREPARTUM (11 weeks)						POSTPARTUM (16 weeks)					
Relationship between constructs and elements		Mean degrees between construct and element											
ELEMENT	Construct category	n ₁ =9	n ₂ =27	n ₃ =8	n ₄ =9	F	P	n ₁ =9	n ₂ =27	n ₃ =8	n ₄ =9	F	P
Close friend	17b	4	4	23	25	3.8	0.05	19	10	14	33	5.2	0.01
Close friend	17a	36	27	31	24	2.3	ns	30	49	27	21	3.3	0.05
As you would like to be	1a	7	19	5	38	2.9	0.05	5	28	4	42	3.7	0.05

Key: n₁ = 0-5 years (children preschool); n₂ = 5-11 years (children at primary school); n₃ = 11-18 years (children at secondary school); n₄ = 18+ (children left school/never wanted to return to work).
df = 3,49 for all the results in this table.

using High Tenderness (17a) constructs at sixteen weeks postpartum ($F = 3.3$, $df = 3,49$, $p < 0.05$), whereas women who intended to return to work later or never (children 18 yrs +), were significantly more likely to describe the same element using Low Tenderness (17b) constructs at both eleven weeks prepartum ($F = 3.8$, $df = 3,49$, $p < 0.05$) and sixteen weeks postpartum ($F = 5.2$, $df = 3,49$, $p < 0.01$).

Attitudes Toward Women (scores on the AWS: Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1973) (Table 14).

't' tests on the significant results in this table revealed that:

Women with radical attitudes towards the role of women in society were significantly less likely to describe the elements 'as you would like to be' using Low Forcefulness constructs (2b; e.g. patient, calm, contented), at both eleven weeks prepartum ($F = 5.5$, $df = 2,50$, $p < 0.05$) and sixteen weeks postpartum ($F = 3.3$, $df = 2,50$, $p < 0.05$), than those women with more traditional or liberal attitudes.

Occupation

No significant differences were found for the variable of occupation either for identifications, frequency of construct usage, or relationship between constructs and elements.

Table 14. To show the significant relationships (as identified by one way ANOVA) between 'Attitudes Towards Women' and the construing of motherhood at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

GRID MEASURE		PREPARTUM (11 weeks)					POSTPARTUM (16 weeks)				
3	Relationship between constructs and elements	Mean degrees between construct and element									
ELEMENT	CONSTRUCT CATEGORY	$n_1 = 20$	$n_2 = 16$	$n_3 = 17$	F	P	$n_1 = 20$	$n_2 = 16$	$n_3 = 17$	F	P
As you would like to be	2b	23	42	14	5.5	0.01	34	35	16	3.3	0.05

Key: n_1 = traditional attitudes; n_2 = liberal attitudes; n_3 = radical attitudes.

df = 2,50 for all results in the table.

(ii) 'Satisfaction with Motherhood'

Table 15. To show the significant relationships (as identified by one way ANOVA) between 'Satisfaction with Motherhood' and the construing of motherhood at sixteen weeks postpartum.

GRID MEASURE		POST PARTUM (16 weeks)				
1	IDENTIFICATION	MEAN DISTANCE OF OTHER ELEMENTS FROM 'YOURSELF'				
		$n_1=20$	$n_2=19$	$n_3=14$	F	p
	Not a good mother	1.4	1.1	1.0	4.0	.02
2	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONSTRUCTS AND ELEMENTS	MEAN DEGREES BETWEEN CONSTRUCT CATEGORY AND ELEMENT				
	Good mother	2b	44	19	30	3.6 .05
	Career orientated woman	2a	41	22	8	5.3 .01
	As you would like to be	2b	40	24	16	4.5 .01
	Not a good mother	2a	30	5	10	8.1 .001
	Not a good mother	17b	12	21	35	3.8 .05

Key: n_1 = high satisfaction with motherhood; n_2 = medium satisfaction
 n_3 = low satisfaction. df=2,50 for all calculations in the table.

't' tests on the results in each row of Table 15, revealed that women experiencing more satisfaction with motherhood in the postpartum period, were significantly more likely than those women experiencing less satisfaction with motherhood, to see themselves as distant from the element 'not a good mother' ($F=4.0$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.02$), and to use Low Forcefulness constructs (2b, e.g. patient, calm, contented)

to describe the elements 'a good mother' ($F=3.6$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.05$), and 'as you would like to be' ($F=4.5$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.01$). They were also significantly more likely to use High Forcefulness constructs (2a, e.g. impatient, quicktempered, strongminded) to describe the elements 'not a good mother' ($F=8.1$, $df = 2,50$, $p < 0.001$) and 'a career orientated woman' ($F=5.3$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.01$).

Women experiencing less satisfaction with motherhood, were significantly more likely than those women experiencing more satisfaction with motherhood, to be using Low Tenderness constructs (17b, e.g. uncaring, does not care for children) to describe 'not a good mother' ($F=3.8$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.05$).

Thus, it would appear from these results, that women experiencing more satisfaction with motherhood, also had a more positive social identity as mothers, as indicated by greater dissimilarity between self and 'not a good mother', and usage of the maternal dimension to differentiate between similar ingroup members (ideal self, and good mother) in comparison with outgroup (career orientated woman).

Summary

Younger women, who were less highly educated, and had worked for fewer years, were likely to experience more satisfaction with motherhood. These women were also more likely to anticipate returning to work sooner, and to have more traditional views about the role of women in society. Table 16, in summarizing characteristic patterns of construing for women in the younger age group (and associated variables), illustrates that these women were more likely to have a positive social identity as mothers. This was characterized, at eleven weeks prepartum by perception of self as similar to 'your mother',

Table 16. A summary of the significant relationships between younger age(and associated variables) and the construing of motherhood at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

VARIABLE	PREPARTUM (11wks)	POSTPARTUM (16wks)
LOWER EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	More likely to describe 'a successful woman' using High Forcefulness (2a) constructs, e.g. strongminded, quick-tempered, etc.	
MORE TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN	More likely to describe 'as you would like to be' using Low Forcefulness (2b) constructs.	More likely to describe the element 'as you would like to be' using Low Forcefulness (2b) constructs.
YOUNGER (21-25 years)	More likely to describe 'a close friend' using Low Forcefulness (2b) constructs, e.g. patient, calm, even-tempered.	More likely to describe 'your mother', using Low Forcefulness constructs, and a 'successful woman' using High Forcefulness (2a) constructs.
WORKED FEWER YEARS (4-7 years)	More likely to see the element 'yourself' as similar to 'your mother'	More likely to see the element 'yourself' as similar to 'your mother', a 'good mother', and a 'close friend'.
	More likely to use constructs in category 2b (Low Forcefulness) to differentiate between the elements.	
	More likely to use Low Forcefulness constructs (2b) to describe 'as you would like to be'.	More likely to use Low Forcefulness constructs to describe 'as you would like to be' and 'your mother'.
	More likely to use Low Tenderness (17b) constructs (e.g. uncaring, does not like children) to describe 'not a good mother'.	
ANTICIPATE RETURNING TO WORK SOONER (5-11 years)		More likely to describe 'a close friend' using High Tenderness constructs(17

Table 16 contd.

VARIABLE	PREPARTUM (11 wks)	POSTPARTUM(16 wks)
MORE SATISFACTION WITH MOTHERHOOD		More likely to see 'yourself' as distant from 'not a good mother'. More likely to describe 'as you would like to be' and 'a good mother' using Low Forcefulness constructs (2b) . More likely to describe a 'career orientated woman' using High Forcefulness (2a) constructs.

greater usage of positive poles of constructs on the maternal dimension (Low Forcefulness: 2b) and usage of these constructs to describe ideal self and 'a close friend' (ingroup) and the contrastive poles of constructs on the maternal dimension (17b) to describe 'not a good mother'.

The element 'a successful woman' was described using the contrastive poles of constructs on the maternal dimension (High Forcefulness: 2a).

At sixteen weeks postpartum, and experiencing more satisfaction with motherhood, the younger age group were more likely to identify themselves as similar to own mother, a good mother, a close friend (ingroup) and distant from 'not a good mother'. The former elements were all described using positive poles of constructs on the maternal dimension (Low Forcefulness: 2b, High Tenderness: 17b), in contrast to a 'career orientated woman', who was described using the contrastive poles of constructs on the maternal dimension (2a: High Forcefulness).

A 'successful woman' was also described using High Forcefulness (2a) constructs.

Thus the identifications and constructions associated with a more positive social identity in the prepartum period were validated postpartum, the experience of motherhood leading to more evidence of ingroup identification.

Table 17 summarizes the pattern of construing associated with older women, who were more highly educated, had worked for longer, and experienced less satisfaction with motherhood. These women were also more likely to anticipate returning to work comparatively later, and to have more liberal/radical attitudes towards the role of women in society.

These variables were associated with a less positive social identity as a mother, as characterized at eleven weeks prepartum, by less similarity of self to own mother, and usage of constructs on the social dimension (Social Interaction: Active: I and Factual Description: 6b) to describe the elements 'as you would like to be' and 'a successful woman'. This group was more likely to use constructs on the contrastive poles of the maternal dimension (17b: Low Tenderness; 16: Egoism) and to use these to describe 'career orientated woman' (outgroup), 'not a good mother' and also 'a close friend'.

At sixteen weeks postpartum, and experiencing less satisfaction with motherhood, the older age group saw themselves as comparatively less similar to own mother, 'good mother' and 'close friend' (ingroup), and comparatively less distant from 'not a good mother'. Constructs on the positive poles of the social dimension (Social Interaction: Active Ia) were used to describe ingroup members (ideal self, good mother, close friend), and the contrastive poles of the maternal dimension (17b: Low Tenderness; 2a: High Forcefulness) were used to describe 'a career orientated woman' (outgroup) and 'not a good mother'.

Table 17. A summary of the significant relationships between older age (and associated variables) and construing of motherhood at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum

VARIABLE	PREPARTUM	POSTPARTUM
HIGHER EDUCATIONAL LEVEL (Above A levels)	More likely to be using Low Tenderness (17b) constructs to differentiate between the elements, e.g. uncaring, not understanding.	
OLDER (31+)	More likely to be using High Egoism (16) constructs to differentiate between the elements, e.g. singleminded, selfish.	
	More likely to describe 'as you would like to be' using Active Social Interaction (1a) constructs i.e. sociable, friendly, outgoing.	More likely to describe 'as you would like to be', a 'good mother', and a close friend using Active Social Interaction (1a) constructs.
	More likely to describe 'a successful woman' using constructs suggestive of interests/ orientation outside the home (6b: Factual Description)	
WORKED FOR LONGER (8-11 years)	More likely to use Egoism constructs (16) to describe 'a career orientated woman'.	More likely to use Egoism constructs (16) to describe 'a career orientated woman'.
ANTICIPATES RETURNING TO WORK LATER (18 yrs +/-never)	More likely to use Active Social Interaction (1a) constructs to describe 'as you would like to be'.	More likely to use Active Social Interaction (1a) constructs to describe 'as you would like to be'.

Table 17 continued

VARIABLE	PREPARTUM	POSTPARTUM
RETURN TO WORK LATER (18yrs/never)	More likely to describe 'a close friend' using Low Tenderness (17b) constructs, e.g. uncaring, does not like children.	More likely to describe 'a close friend' using Low Tenderness constructs (17b), eg. does not like children.
LESS SATISFACTION WITH MOTHERHOOD		More likely to describe 'not a good mother' using Low Tenderness' (17b) constructs.

Since relevant outgroup elements were as likely to be described by use of contrastive poles of constructs on the maternal dimension for the older group as for the younger, it is suggested that a less positive social identity arose from intragroup rather than intergroup comparison, as characterized by differentiation of ingroup members by use of the social, rather than the maternal dimension. As was pointed out earlier (p.147) for the sample as a whole, the social dimension was characteristically used for intragroup comparison, whereas the maternal dimension was used for intergroup comparison.

As with the younger group, a less positive social identity as conceptualized prepartum, was validated by the experience of motherhood itself (less satisfying), as evidenced by less subjective identification with ingroup.

Discussion

From these results it can be seen that Hypothesis IIIA was not confirmed. Lower educational and occupational status were not the major variables accounting for variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother, but rather age and number of years worked. Women who were younger at conception, and had worked for fewer years, who were also more likely to be less highly educated, to have more traditional attitudes towards the role of women in society, and to anticipate returning to work sooner, were likely to have a more positive social identity as a mother, which was validated by the experience of motherhood itself. Hypothesis IIIB was confirmed: women with a more positive social identity as mothers (ie those

that were younger), were more likely to express more satisfaction with motherhood.

In exploring the reasons for these findings, one explanation discussed earlier connected self image as a mother and satisfaction with motherhood, with career orientation and a desire to combine work with motherhood. For instance Oakley (1980) associated a low maternal self image and less satisfaction with motherhood with a greater career interest and a propensity to combine work with motherhood, which were characteristic of women with an instrumental role orientation, and higher educational and occupational status. This association reflected Oakley's more general assumption that women who have a greater commitment to work, experience motherhood in terms of a loss of personal identity. Pistrang's (1981) findings supported Oakley's conclusions in that women in her study who were high work involved, as well as being more highly educated and having higher occupational status, also experienced comparatively lower self esteem as mothers and were less satisfied with motherhood.

Therefore, in relation to this study, it would be expected that a less positive social identity as a mother would be associated with greater identification with 'a career orientated woman', and description of 'self' using similar constructs. In addition, women with a less positive social identity as mothers would be expected to have higher educational status, to anticipate returning to work sooner, and to experience less satisfaction with motherhood. However, a less positive social identity as a mother, and less satisfaction with motherhood, were associated in this study with women who were comparatively older and had worked for somewhat longer, rather than with the higher occupational and educational

status; these women were no more likely than those with a more positive social identity (younger women who had worked for comparatively fewer years) to identify with a 'career orientated woman'. This element was perceived by both groups as distant from, rather than similar to, self. Women with a more positive social identity were likely to describe this element using constructs such as impatient, quicktempered and strongminded, the contrastive poles of the constructs used in self description. Similarly, women with a less positive social identity described this element using constructs such as selfish and single minded, those not used in self description.

Also women with a less positive social identity as mothers did not express any great eagerness to return to work; they anticipated returning to work comparatively later than those women with a more positive social identity. As the interview material discussed earlier suggests, these women expressed a preference for doing other things rather than working, which lends substance to the findings of Hoffman (1978) and Westbrook (1979), that for some women, giving up work was one of the advantages of motherhood.

For women with a more positive social identity as mothers, who anticipated returning to work sooner, it was concluded that the reasons for their decision were located in the availability of work on a part-time basis. It is interesting that these women also had more traditional attitudes towards the role of women in society, rather than as would be expected for women returning to work earlier, a more instrumental role orientation (Oakley, 1980). This perhaps indicates, as Pistrang (1981) suggests, that for

these women working part-time was in keeping with a more traditional role orientation, because the low level of commitment to work outside the home was congruent with the greater centrality of motherhood in their lives.

Thus it is concluded that career orientation, and a desire to combine work with motherhood, were not major explanatory factors in accounting for differences in the degree of positive social identity and satisfaction with motherhood. Pistrang (1984), although finding a relationship between work involvement and satisfaction with motherhood came to a similar conclusion:

"While work involvement and postpartum work status were useful predictors of motherhood experiences, it should be noted that their effect sizes were fairly small. That is these two variables explained only a moderate proportion (typically 10 to 15%) of the variance of motherhood experiences. Thus it appears that a large proportion of the variance was explained by other variables". (p. 444).

An alternative explanation for the association between age (and related variables), the positivity of social identity as a mother, and satisfaction with motherhood, can be provided by examination of differences in intragroup construing, that is, perception of self in relation to other ingroup members (your mother, close friend, good mother).

As has been outlined previously (pp. 40-45) (Abernethy (1973b) and Gladieux (1978) related degree of positive feelings about 'self as mother' and satisfaction with

motherhood to social network formation. Women whose social relationships were characterized by close links with, and interrelationships between family and friends were more likely to have a positive self image as a mother and to experience more satisfaction in pregnancy and early motherhood; these women were also more likely to be less highly educated, with lower educational and occupational status and to have more traditional attitudes towards the role of women in society. In contrast, women whose social relationships were characterized by infrequent contact with relatives and by friends who tended not to see, or even know each other, were less likely to have a positive self image as a mother and to experience less satisfaction with pregnancy and early motherhood; these women were more likely to have higher educational and occupational status, and modern sex role attitudes.

The implications of these findings for construing of self in relation to other ingroup members, are that a more positive social identity as a mother would be associated with subjective identification of self with 'own mother' and 'a close friend', and construing of these elements on similar dimensions to self, 'ideal self' and a 'good mother'. Furthermore, it would be expected that these patterns of identification and construction would be characteristic of women with lower educational and occupational status, who had more traditional attitudes to the role of women in society, and experienced more satisfaction with motherhood.

These expectations were confirmed in relation to patterns of identification and construction on the motherhood grid, though, as has been mentioned previously, age and number of years worked were the most important antecedent social factors predictive of variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother.

Women who were somewhat younger, and had worked for fewer years (more positive social identity as mothers) identified more closely with other ingroup members, and used constructs on the positive poles of the maternal dimension (e.g. patient, calm, contented, etc.)to describe self and similar others (your mother, close friend, good mother) on both pre and post partum occasions. These women were more likely to have traditional attitudes towards the role of women in society, and to experience more satisfaction with motherhood.

In contrast, women were were somewhat older and had worked for longer (less positive social identity as mothers) identified less closely with other ingroup members, and used constructs on the positive poles of the social dimension (e.g. sociable, friendly, outgoing, interests centred outside home etc.) to describe self and other ingroup members, (close friend, good mother) particularly in the post partum period. These women were more likely to have liberal/radical attitudes to the role of women in society, and to experience less satisfaction with motherhood.

In explaining these patterns of identification and construction, it is important to remember that a less positive social identity as a mother was associated with greater length of time at work. It may be that, through working for a longer period of time, women established close social relationships outside their immediate family circle. A combination of a loss of these relationships through giving up work, and the lack of close ties with family members, could account for less identification of 'self' with 'close friend' and own mother, and the importance of constructs suggestive of a high level of social interaction to define social category membership. The use of these constructs may be reflective of experience of social isolation, and the need to establish as a mother, the level of social contact experienced as a working woman.

There is some evidence from the interview material to support these assumptions. For instance, 64% of women who had worked for longer reported seeing their close friend less often in the postpartum period, as compared with 30% of women who had worked for fewer years. The reasons for this were firstly that close friends were often those from work, who did not have children, and no longer shared the same interests, and secondly, there was less opportunity as a mother, to go out in the evenings, and therefore less possibility of contact with friends at work.

Women who had worked for longer were also less likely to

have maintained close links with their parents, when compared with women who had worked for fewer years.

For instance, three quarters of the women who had worked for fewer years (4-7 years, N=23), lived close to their parents (under 12 miles), and experienced direct help from their mothers after the birth of their babies, in the form of them either coming to stay, or visiting daily, as compared with under a half of those women who had worked for longer (8-11 yrs, N=11). Also 61% of the former group felt closer to their own parents as a result of motherhood, 26% referring to their mothers specifically, whereas 43% of the latter group felt closer to their parents, only 7% referring to their mothers specifically.

With regard to a more general level of social activity, 64% of women who had worked for longer, were engaged in activities outside the home, such as sport, theatre going, membership of clubs, darts teams etc., whereas only 35% of women who had worked for fewer years, engaged in activities outside the house.

Whether differences in the positivity of social identity as a mother were related to the perception of the movement from working to motherhood as a 'status' passage from one group to another (Oakley, 1980), is not clear from the analysis of material from the motherhood grids. From the interview

material relating to changes in social relationships from pregnancy to early motherhood, it was apparent that womens' reference groups did change over the period. For instance, 72% of women in the sample reported prepartum that the friends they saw most often were working women like themselves, whereas in early motherhood, 68% of women in the sample reported that it was friends who were mothers that they had most contact with. However, as has been discussed previously (p. 141), 'status' was not one of the most salient dimensions used to differentiate mothers (ingroup) from working women (outgroup). Furthermore, although it would be expected that women with a more positive social identity as mothers would perceive ingroup as relatively 'high status' in relation to outgroup (Turner, 1982), this was not the implication of the results from the motherhood grids. For instance, women who derived a more positive social identity from subjective identification with the ingroup 'mother' were more likely to associate success or prestige with outgroup, as evidenced by the construing of the element 'a successful woman' using constructs on the maternal dimension, which were the bipolar opposites of those used in description of self and other ingroup members, and which were those also applied to 'a career orientated woman'.

Although what it means to be 'successful' cannot be taken to be a definitive measure of the perception of relative status, this result does suggest that for younger women, with

lower educational status (more positive social identity as a mother), higher prestige is associated with achievement at work rather than with being a good mother. This will be further discussed in relation to differences in the positivity of social identity as a mother accounted for by social choice, that is whether pregnancy was planned or unplanned.

Conclusions

From the results in this section, it is concluded that variations in the positivity of social identity were associated with the antecedent social factors of age at conception, and number of years worked prior to motherhood, and the motherhood outcome of satisfaction with motherhood.

The perception of the relative status of 'mothers' as an ingroup, in relation to working women as an 'outgroup' was not of major importance in accounting for variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother. Furthermore, it was found that these variations arose from intragroup comparison, that is, construing of self in relation to other ingroup members (good mother, close friend, own mother) rather than intergroup comparison, that is, construing of self in relation to outgroup (career orientated woman).

Women who were somewhat older at conception, and had worked for longer prior to motherhood, had a less positive

social identity as mothers; this was characterized by less subjective identification of self with other ingroup members, and the description of these elements using constructs such as sociable, outgoing, and interests centred outside home (the social dimension), particularly in the postpartum period. These women were also more likely to be more highly educated, to have liberal/radical attitudes towards the role of women in society, and to experience less satisfaction with motherhood.

It was suggested that the patterns of identification and construction characterizing a less positive social identity, were associated with a disruption in friendships in the transition from work to motherhood, which, in combination with less close ties with family members (particularly own mother), led to feelings of social isolation in early motherhood, and consequently the desire to establish as a mother, the level of social contact experienced as a working woman.

Women who were somewhat younger at conception, and had worked for fewer years prior to motherhood, had a more positive social identity as mothers; this was characterized by greater subjective identification with other ingroup members, and description of these elements using constructs such as patient, unselfish, contented, and cares for children (maternal dimension) on both pre and postpartum occasions. These women were also likely to be less highly educated, to have more traditional attitudes towards the role of women in

society, and to experience more satisfaction with motherhood.

It was suggested that the patterns of identification and construction characterizing a more positive social identity as a mother were associated with a continuity in relationships with family and friends in the transition from work to motherhood, which provided, as Abernethy (1973b) suggests "the support derived from consolidation of child rearing practices and reinforcement of social identity" (p. 91).

Variations in the positivity of social identity did not arise from differences in identification with and construing of 'a career orientated woman' (outgroup). For both the younger and older age groups, this element was perceived as distant from 'self' and described using constructs on the contrastive poles of the maternal dimension (i.e. impatient, quick tempered, selfish) on both pre and postpartum occasions. Furthermore women with a less positive social identity (older, worked for longer) anticipated returning to work comparatively later than those with a more positive social identity.

From these results it was concluded that degree of career orientation, and the desire to combine work with motherhood, were not major explanatory factors in accounting for the positivity of social identity as a mother. It was also concluded that anticipated time before return to work was more dependent on the availability of work on a part time basis,

than the positivity of social identity as amother, or the degree of satisfaction with motherhood.

Finally, to complete this section, examples are given from interviews with two women, which illustrate the attitudes to work and motherhood, and the patterns of social relationships associated with a more positive and a less positive social identity as a mother.

(i) A woman with a more positive social identity as a mother

Ms Harper was 24 at the time of the first interview, and had just given up her job as a hairdresser, which she had been doing for six years. Her feelings about becoming a mother at eleven weeks prepartum were as follows:

'It's what I've always wanted; my job was interesting, but since I've known my husband, becoming a mother has been the most important thing...I'm looking forward to everything...its something we've talked about and we're ready for the changes...having a baby, thats the most important thing.'

Ms Harper felt close to her own mother: "I've always seen a lot of my mother...I've always been able to talk to her and have become closer to her since I've been married myself". Her parents lived nearby, about ten minutes away, and her elder sister, who had recently had her first child, also lived in the area .

Her mother came to help when she came out of hospital with the baby: "she just pops in...I wouldn't want her all the time... its important for me to get to know the baby". In the postpartum period she expressed positive feelings about herself as a mother: "I enjoy everything about being amother... its made me more responsible...it all stems back to having to think about the baby... when you're working you only think about yourself...it must make you different, being a mother".

She maintained contact withher mother and her sister in the postpartum period, and both of them did some babysitting for her, enabling her to go out in the evenings. In addition she retained her close friendships, and had made two new friends who were both first time mothers, during her confinement in hospital, whom she saw regularly.

She anticipated returning to work on a part time basis when her children were of primary school age, though thought that she might work from home in the preschool years. She missed the financial benefits of working, but enjoyed being at home, and caring for her baby.

(ii) A woman with a less positive social identity as a mother

Ms Pritchard was 32 at the time of the first interview and had given up her job as a manageress six months previously, having worked for eleven years. Although looking forward to motherhood she had no clear ideas about herself as a mother at eleven weeks prepartum: "I haven't really thought about it...obviously

I'll be more tied ... thats the only thing I can say about it."

Ms Pritchard enjoyed working because it provided social contact, but she did not find her work much of a challenge and felt that there were too many pressures in her job, too little responsibility and the work was often boring. She enjoyed the freedom of being at home, "being able to be my own boss" and felt that she did not want to work for anyone else again. She had little contact with family or friends, since her parents lived 200 miles away and her close friends lived in a town some miles distant. At sixteen weeks postpartum, Ms Pritchard enjoyed caring for her baby, particularly "the giving and receiving of love and affection", but felt that motherhood was restricting "I don't have a lot of time to myself, everything has to be crammed into a couple of hours when he's sleeping...everything I want to do myself has to be carefully organized". She had no regular contact with relatives and had not made any new friends as a result of becoming a mother; she found the preoccupation of new mothers with their babies rather tedious; "You go down to the postnatal classes...women when they've had babies..everything else seems to go by the board...I don't know what they were like before, but nothing seems to interest them apart from babies." She also felt she had lost contact with her friends: "It's a bit difficult getting to see them on public transport...there's nowhere to feed amongst other things!". Ms Pritchard did not want to return to work at all, but hoped to set up a business from home at some point in the future.

SECTION III: THE PLANNING DECISION: its relationship to antecedent
social factors, social identity as a mother and
feelings towards the baby

(a) The Relationship between Planning and Sociohistorical Variables

The relationships to be tested in this section were between the sociohistorical variables of age, education, number of years worked, anticipated time before return to work, occupation, attitudes towards women, and the planning of the baby. As the planning variable was discontinuous, consisting of two groups, 'planned' and 'unplanned', oneway analysis of variance tests were used to test for significant relationships between these measures. The hypothesis to be tested by this procedure was:

Hypothesis IVa: That women who have planned their babies are more likely than those women with unplanned pregnancies, to be older (Presser, 1974; Wilkie, 1981; Zajicek, 1981) and to have higher educational and occupational status (Lind, 1977; Wilkie, 1981; Steffensmeier, 1982).

Results and Discussion

The results of the one way analysis of variance tests of significance located a relationship between occupation and planning ($F=9.3$, $df=1.51$, $p < 0.01$). Scores indicated that those women with jobs higher in the occupational scale were significantly more likely to have planned their babies, than women with jobs lower in the occupational scale.

Thus Hypothesis IVa was confirmed in relation to the variable of occupation, women with jobs higher in the occupational scale being more likely to have planned their babies.

Table 18 shows a breakdown of the planning decisions of the sample, in relation to occupation.

Table 18. A table to show the planning decisions of the sample (N=53) in relation to occupation

			PLANNED(N=40)		UNPLANNED(N=13)	
Variable						
Occupation:	N	% of sample	N	% of sample	N	% of sample
Managerial and professional	12	23%	11	21%	1	2%
Clerical, secretarial, and other non manual	26	49%	22	41%	4	8%
Manual and personal service	15	28%	7	13%	8	15%

As can be seen from the above table, out of the managerial and professional group (accounting for 23% of the sample), only one woman had an unplanned pregnancy, whereas out of the women in manual and personal service occupations, (accounting for 28% of the sample), over half (15%) had pregnancies that were unplanned.

The relationships between these two variables can perhaps be elucidated by looking at differences in attitudes towards the timing of the birth in relation to the planning decision.

Table 19 shows the relationship between the planning decision and attitudes towards timing, using a categorization taken from Presser's (1974) study of the planning decisions of 408 American women.

Table 19. The relationship between the planning of the first child and attitudes towards timing at 11 weeks prepartum.

Attitude towards timing	PLANNED(N=40)		UNPLANNED (N=13)	
	% of sample	% of planned group	% of sample	% of unplanned group
Wanted child sooner	9	12	-	-
Right time	60	80	-	-
Wanted child later	6	8	19	77
Didn't want children	-	-	2	8
Didn't matter when	-	-	4	15

As this table shows, of the majority of women in the sample (75%) who had planned their babies, 92% wanted the child at that time or sooner, whereas with the unplanned group (25% of the sample), 85% wanted the child later or did not want any children.

This finding for the planned group is in line with other studies linking planning and attitude towards the timing of the baby with occupational status. For instance, Lind (1977) found that middle class women were more likely to have actively planned their babies, that is, interrupted contraception with the intention of becoming pregnant, when they and their husbands felt 'ready' to adopt the parenting role. Wilkie (1981) found that women with higher educational and occupational status planned to have their babies at a later age (over 25) when they would feel more ready to become mothers, after a spell of personal freedom and having established a degree of financial security.

Thus, it is suggested, in relation to this study, that women with higher occupational status make a choice to become mothers, and thus experience a congruence between becoming a mother and other life plans, as expressed by wanting to have a baby at this time in their lives.

The relationship between unplanned pregnancy, timing of the baby and lower occupational status is not immediately explainable in relation to findings from other studies. For instance, it has been suggested (e.g. Lind, 1977; Westbrook, 1979) that working class women, particularly those in the lower occupational strata, were more likely to see motherhood as offering more status and gratifications than working, and thus of more importance in relation to other activities; timing is therefore less relevant in this situation since it is supposed that motherhood would be welcomed at any time, accounting for the predominance of unplanned pregnancies for this group. This picture is not confirmed by the results in this study relating to feelings about the timing of the baby. Although a small proportion of the 'unplanned' group (15%), felt that it did not matter when they had their babies, the majority (77%) felt that they would have preferred to have their babies later on in their lives. Therefore, although women with unplanned pregnancies were more likely to have lower occupational status, this did not relate to the perception of motherhood as more important than other life plans.

Thus it is suggested, in relation to results in this study, that women with lower occupational status are less likely to make a choice about becoming mothers, and thus experience some

incongruence between motherhood and other life plans, as expressed by the desire, ideally, to have a baby later in their lives.

These conclusions will be discussed further with regard to differences in the experience of, and construing about, motherhood accounted for by the planning decision.

No relationship was found between age and planning, that is the tendency for younger women to have unplanned pregnancies was not confirmed, although as Table 20 shows, the majority of unplanned births were found in the younger age groups.

Table 20. A table to show the planning decisions of the sample (N=53) in relation to age

Variable	PLANNED		UNPLANNED	
	No.	% of sample	No.	% of sample
Age:				
16-20 yrs	8	15	4	7.5
21-25 yrs	25	47	19	36
26-30 yrs	11	21	11	21
31+ yrs	9	17	6	11

The lack of significant relationship between these two variables ($F=2.30$, $df=1.51$) can perhaps be explained by comparing the age range of those women in the present study to those samples on which the hypothesis was based. For instance, in Presser's (1974) sample of 408 primiparous women, almost one third (31%) were between fifteen and nineteen, whereas for this study only 15%

of women fell within this age group; in addition, in Presser's sample, over 60% of women in the youngest age group were unmarried, which formed the mediating factor between age and planning, younger women being more likely to be unmarried and to have unplanned babies. Thus in the present study, by restricting the sample to married or cohabiting women, the group of younger unmarried women whose pregnancies were likely to be unplanned, were excluded.

(b) Planning and the Experience of Motherhood

The hypothesis to be tested in relation to the planning decision and the experience of motherhood was Hypothesis IVc: that women who had planned their babies were more likely than those women with unplanned pregnancies to feel positively towards them in the postpartum period.

Feelings about the baby were measured by 'first feelings when the baby was born' derived from the interview material, and scores on the Baby Questionnaires I & II at one month and 16 weeks postpartum (these measures were fully described in Chapter II, Section II, pp. 123-126).

The relationship between planning and 'first feelings when the baby was born' was examined by means of contingency table analyses, using the Chi square test of significance, and with scores on the Baby Questionnaires I and II using one way ANOVA. In addition the relationship between scores on the Baby Questionnaires I and II at one month and 16 weeks postpartum were analysed as part of the stepwise regression procedure, and both these sets of scores were related to 'first feelings when the baby was born'

by means of a Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient.

Although no relationship was predicted in the hypotheses, the relationship between 'satisfaction with motherhood', planning and 'first feelings when the baby was born' were tested by means of contingency table analyses, and between this measure and Baby Questionnaires I and II using the Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient.

Results and Discussion

There was a relationship between planning and scores on Baby Questionnaire I at one month postpartum and Baby Questionnaire II at sixteen weeks postpartum. Those women whose babies were unplanned were significantly more likely to have higher positive scores on Baby Questionnaire I ($F=11.3$, $df=1.51$, $p < 0.01$), whereas those women with planned pregnancies were significantly more likely to have higher positive scores on Baby Questionnaire II ($F=4.4$, $df=1.51$, $p < 0.05$). Both groups of women scored positively rather than negatively on this measure, at both one month and sixteen weeks postpartum.

There was a significant relationship between planning and first feelings when the baby was born ($X^2=5.8$, $df=2$, $p < 0.05$). Examination of the contingency table revealed that women who had unplanned babies were more likely to experience ambivalent first feelings about their babies, and that women who had planned their babies were more likely to experience good first feelings.

There was a significant relationship between scores on Baby Questionnaire I and scores on Baby Questionnaire

II. The score on the Baby Questionnaire at one month postpartum was predictive of the score on the Baby Questionnaire at sixteen weeks postpartum ($F=4.9$, $df=51$, $p < 0.05$). The direction of the prediction revealed by the regression equation suggested that the more positive the score on the first Baby Questionnaire, the less positive on the second.

There was no relationship between 'satisfaction with motherhood' and the variables of either planning ($X^2 = .71$, $df=2$), first feelings when the baby was born ($X^2=1.3$, $df=2$), or scores on Baby Questionnaire 1 ($\rho=.14$, $df=51$) and Baby Questionnaire II ($\rho= .06$, $df=51$).

Thus Hypothesis IVc was confirmed to the extent that the planning decision influenced feelings about the baby, but the relationship was more complex than that suggested. The pattern of results suggested that women who planned their babies were more likely to feel positively towards them immediately after they were born but less likely to evaluate them as positively (as defined by scores on the Baby Questionnaire 1) at one month postpartum, as compared with those women who did not plan their babies.

The relationship between scores on the Baby Questionnaires suggested that those women who scored more positively on BQI would score lower on BQII, and vice versa, thus indicating that those women with unplanned babies were likely to show a decrease in scores on the Baby Questionnaires over the postpartum period, whereas those women who had planned their babies were more likely to show an increase in scores on the Baby Questionnaires over the postpartum period, becoming more likely to evaluate their babies

more positively at sixteen weeks postpartum.

From the results, it was clear that the variable of planning, as opposed to sociohistorical variables, was the one most related to feelings about the baby in the postpartum period, those women who had planned their babies being more positive overall than those women with unplanned pregnancies. However, with this particular sample, the contrast tended to be between positive or less positive/ambivalent feelings rather than positive/negative feelings. For instance, for the scores on the Baby Questionnaires at one month and sixteen weeks postpartum, only six women (11% of the sample) scored negatively on this measure at one month, that is, they rated their own baby as worse than the 'average' baby, and only five women (9% of the sample) scored negatively at sixteen weeks postpartum.

This is also illustrated by the content of responses for 'first feelings when the baby was born' which were found to be, and categorized as, 'positive' or 'ambivalent' rather than 'negative'.

Typical of responses in the former category were feelings of excitement and joy about producing a baby. For instance, Ms Stokes, whose baby was planned, reported her feelings as being "complete happiness, delight, amazement". Ambivalent feelings however tended to revolve around relief at the event of childbirth being over, and the baby emerging unscathed, and also feeling no immediate 'rush of love' for the baby; typical of responses were those of Ms Harris, who had an unplanned pregnancy, and who felt "tired, exhausted, but glad that the baby was O.K. and it was all over".

Miller (1974) and Zajicek (1981) in their studies relating the planning decision to feelings in the prepartum period, found similarly that, although negative feelings about being pregnant were more likely to be expressed by women with unplanned pregnancies, women in this group expressed feelings along the whole continuum of positive/negative responses, and that only a small proportion expressed negative feelings. For instance, Miller (1974) found that virtually all consciously intended conceptions led to fully wanted pregnancies, whereas conceptions occurring in the absence of conscious intent fell more or less equally along the 'wantedness' continuum.

Zajieck (1981) found that women with unplanned pregnancies, were less likely to feel positively about their pregnancy throughout, than those women who had planned their babies, though there was only a small proportion in each group who expressed neutral or negative feelings. In her sample of 96 first time mothers, 70% expressed positive feelings when they first realized they were pregnant, 22% were neutral, and only 8% were negative. Similarly at seven months into pregnancy, 72% of women expressed positive feelings, 12% neutral, and 16% negative.

So, although these studies relate to feelings in the prepartum period, the same relationship is established between planning and more positive feelings and unplanned pregnancies and less positive, though not necessarily negative feelings.

Taking this result in association with those discussed earlier (p. 213) it would seem that a planned pregnancy, reflecting a congruity between becoming a mother and other life plans results

in more positive feelings towards the baby in the postpartum period, whereas unplanned pregnancies, reflecting an incongruity between motherhood and other life plans, results in less positive feelings towards the baby in the postpartum period. The relative infrequency of negative responses for the latter group, may be explainable in terms of attitude towards timing, whereby, although the majority of women in the unplanned group expressed the wish to have become pregnant later on in their lives, only two women would have preferred not to have children at all. Therefore, motherhood for the vast majority of this group was an intended activity at some point in their lives, and it seems less likely that these women would express negative feelings about the baby than if they had intended not to have children at all.

From the results in this section the question then arises as to why women with unplanned pregnancies were significantly more likely than those women who had planned pregnancies, to feel positively towards their babies at one month postpartum (as indicated by high positive scores on the Baby Questionnaire) when the reverse was the case for 'first feelings' and feelings at sixteen weeks postpartum.

This finding can perhaps be illuminated by looking at the interview material relating to experienced difficulties in caring for the baby at one month and sixteen weeks postpartum, and differences that arise in relation to the planning decision.

Table 21. A table to show the relationship between the Planning decision and expressed difficulties in caring for the baby at one month postpartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

Categories of responses concerning reported difficulties in caring for baby	PLANNED				UNPLANNED			
	one mth. postpartum		sixteen weeks postpartum		one mth. postpartum		sixteen weeks postpartum	
	N	% of group	N	% of group	N	% of group	N	% of group
(1) Problems relating to lack of sleep/tiredness	14	35	0	0	3	23	0	0
(2) Problems relating to differences in routine e.g. lack of time, 24 hr job	3	7.5	2	5	4	31	0	0
(3) Problems relating to the care of the baby i.e. crying, feeding, colic	4	10	3	8	2	15	1	8
(4) Problems relating to responsibility for and dependence of the baby	0	0	10	25	0	0	6	46
(5) Find everything difficult: A combination of factors (1), (2) and (3)	16	40	0	0	3	23	0	0
(6) Find nothing difficult, enjoy it all	3	7.5	25	62	1	8	6	46
TOTAL	40	100	40	100	13	100	13	100

As can be seen from Table 21, the expressed difficulties at one month postpartum revolved around tiredness, change in routine and practical problems with the care of the baby; almost half the 'planned' group reported all these difficulties, as compared with just under a quarter (23%) of the 'unplanned' group. The main problem area expressed by the 'unplanned' group was with changes in routine resulting from motherhood (31%).

By sixteen weeks postpartum, the main difficulties experienced by the sample as a whole were derived from feelings of responsibility for and the dependence of the baby; 45% of the 'unplanned' group expressed these difficulties as compared with 25% of the 'planned' group. Also 62% of the latter group expressed no difficulties at this time, as compared with 46% of the 'unplanned' group.

Although other studies (e.g. Leifer, 1977; Breen, 1975) have found that the greatest degree of difficulty in adapting to motherhood is experienced in the first few months postpartum, this does not explain why women who have planned their babies should report more difficulties at one month postpartum. It may be that these women have greater expectations about themselves as mothers, which are only met when they feel they are coping well with the task of mothering, at sixteen weeks postpartum.

It is interesting to note that generally the 'difficulties' expressed by women in the 'unplanned' group revolved mainly around changes in routine and the dependence of the baby, that is restrictions in lifestyle brought about by motherhood, rather

than specific practical problems concerned with the care of the baby; this was not as emphasized by women in the planned group. These differences in the content of responses will be further discussed in relation to the differences in the salience of dimensions of construing about motherhood for the planned and unplanned groups, as revealed by data from the motherhood grids in the next section.

(c) Variations in the Positivity of Social Identity as a Mother; their relationship to the planning decision and feelings for the baby.

The analysis of results in this section relate to predictions in Hypothesis IV(b) that women who have planned their babies will have a more positive social identity as a mother (from Zajicek, 1979) as characterized by:

- (i) perception of self as more similar to ideal self (Zajicek, 1979) and a good mother figure (Breen, 1975; Marcos, 1979).
- (ii) Subjective identification with own mother and friends as similar ingroup members: (Breen, 1975; Abernethy, 1973b; Gladieux, 1979), in comparison to work orientated figures as outgroup (from Hock, 1978; Oakley, 1980; Pistrang, 1981).
- (iii) more frequent usage of constructs on the maternal dimension, and the usage of the positive poles of these constructs to describe self and similar ingroup members, and the contrastive poles of these constructs to describe outgroup.

Furthermore, a more positive social identity as a mother will be associated with more positive feelings about the baby in the postpartum period (from Miller, 1974; Zajicek, 1981; Oakley, 1980).

As has been outlined previously, the three measures used from the motherhood grid to examine variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother were identifications, frequency of construct usage, and the relationship between constructs and elements. Since the number of variables under consideration is much smaller in this section than in Section II, the results are presented in terms of the relationship of each of these measures to planning and feelings for the baby.

(i) Relationships between Identification (distance of the element 'yourself' from other elements on the motherhood grid), The Planning Decision and Feelings for the Baby

In order to examine the relationships between identifications, the planning decision, 'first feelings when the baby was born' and scores on the Baby Questionnaires I and II (1 month postpartum and sixteen weeks postpartum), the subjects were first divided into the following groups for each variable:

Planning. Subjects divided into two groups: (1) planned (N=40), unplanned (N=13).

First feelings when the baby was born. Subjects divided into two groups: (1) good first feelings (N=35), ambivalent first feelings (N=18).

Scores on Baby Questionnaires I and II. The scores of the subjects were first compared for both occasions and the difference between the scores were noted; subjects were then divided into the following groups: (1) increasingly positive scores over the postpartum period (N=24), (2) decreasingly positive scores over the postpartum period (N=22) and (3) scores remaining the same over the postpartum period (N=7).

These groups were then used as the basis for division of the distance scores of each element from the element 'yourself' (as provided by the 'Distance between Elements' tables from the Ingrid program, for each subject). One way ANOVA were then performed for each variable on scores for each element, to test for significant relationships between identifications, planning and feelings about the baby. These analyses were done for the planning variable on scores at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum, and for measures of feelings about the baby, at sixteen weeks postpartum.

Results

Table 22 shows the mean distances of each element from the element 'yourself' when subjects scores were grouped according to the variables of planning, 'first feelings when the baby was born' and difference in scores on the Baby Questionnaires I and II. As can be seen from Table 22, the following significant relationships between identifications and the above variables were located by one way ANOVA:

Women who had planned their babies and had positive first feelings towards them saw themselves as significantly more similar to a 'good mother' ($F=4.4$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.05$) and 'your mother' ($F=6.4$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.05$) at sixteen weeks postpartum, than women with unplanned babies, who had ambivalent 'first feelings'.

Women who had planned their babies and had positive first feelings, saw themselves as significantly more distant from 'not a good mother' at sixteen weeks postpartum, than women who had

Table 22. To show the mean distances of other elements from the element 'yourself' in relation to the planning variable, 'first feelings when the baby was born' and differences in scores on Baby Questionnaires I and II

TIME	PREPARTUM(11wks)			POSTPARTUM(16wks)			POSTPARTUM(16wks)			POSTPARTUM(16 wks)			
Variable	Planned	Unplanned		Planned	Unplanned		Positive first feelings	Ambivalent first feelings		Increased scores on BQ	Decreased scores on BQ	same scores	
Element	n=40	n=13	F	n=40	n=13	F	n=35	n=18	F	n=24	n=22	n=7	F
A successful woman	0.84	0.76	.49	0.81	0.86	.26	0.75	0.85	.10	0.76	0.86	0.79	1.1
A good mother	0.59	0.62	.09	0.62	0.63	.21	0.57	0.72	4.4*	0.63	0.59	0.64	.47
A career orientated woman	1.04	0.99	.23	1.07	0.87	3.1	1.03	1.05	.36	1.1	0.9	1.0	3.9*
A close friend	0.69	0.62	.04	0.73	0.71	.23	0.67	0.74	.65	0.71	0.73	0.79	.01
As you would like to be	0.59	0.54	.19	0.63	1.1	2.8	0.59	1.05	3.2	0.61	0.62	0.57	.72
Your mother	0.72	0.61	1.6	0.76	0.67	1.0	0.60	0.82	6.4*	0.77	0.72	0.7	0.2
Not a good mother	1.21	1.2	.02	1.2	1.2	.04	1.35	1.1	4.2*	1.15	1.25	1.6	2.1

Key: * significant difference at $p < 0.05$ from one way ANOVA; mean distances < 1 indicate 'similar to'; mean distances > 1

unplanned babies, with ambivalent first feelings ($F=4.2$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.05$).

Women who had unplanned pregnancies and decreasingly positive scores on the Baby Questionnaires in the postpartum period, were significantly more likely to see themselves as similar to 'a career orientated woman' than those women with planned babies, who had increasingly positive scores on the Baby Questionnaire in the postpartum period ($F=3.9$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.05$).

Although these variables did not account for significant differences in distances of 'as you would like to be' from the element 'yourself', it can be seen from Table 22 that, at sixteen weeks postpartum, there was a trend for women who had unplanned babies to see themselves as distant from 'as you would like to be' ($\bar{x} = 1.1$) and for women with planned babies to see this element as similar to 'yourself' ($\bar{x} = 0.63$). The same was indicated in relation to first feelings when the baby was born; there was a trend for women with ambivalent first feelings to see themselves as distant from 'as you would like to be' ($\bar{x} = 1.05$) and for those with positive feelings to see themselves as similar to this element ($\bar{x} = 0.59$).

(ii) Frequency of Construct Usage

The relationship between the five most used dimensions (Tenderness: (17); Forcefulness (2); Social Interaction (1); Factual Description (6); Egoism (16)), and the planning variable was analysed in the following way:

For each individual, the number of constructs used in each category was noted and these scores were then divided according

to whether the pregnancy was planned or unplanned, significant relationships between the planning decision and frequency of construct usage being located by means of one way ANOVA. These analyses were carried out for the eleven weeks prepartum occasion only, since constructs were elicited at this time. Measures of feelings about the baby were not related to frequency of construct usage, since they referred to the postpartum period only.

Results

It was found that women who had planned their babies were significantly more likely to be using constructs on the positive poles of the maternal dimension, (Low Forcefulness: 2b, e.g. patient, calm, easygoing), to differentiate between the elements at eleven weeks prepartum, than women with unplanned pregnancies ($F=9.1$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.01$).

(iii) Relationship between Constructs and Elements

The relationship between constructs and elements was analysed by initially establishing the four most salient construct categories used in description of each element at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum (see pp. 143-144). In order to examine how the construing of elements varied in relation to the planning decision and feelings about the baby, the scores on each construct within these categories for each element were noted for each of the subjects (in terms of the number of degrees between construct and element). If a subject did not use a construct within one of these categories to describe an element, it was scored as 0; if more than one construct within a category was used the mean number of degrees was taken.

The subjects were then divided into groups according to whether their baby was planned or unplanned, and scores were subject to one way ANOVA in order to identify significant differences in the construing of elements accounted for by the planning variable, at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

The same procedure was followed in relation to the 'first feelings' and Baby Questionnaire criteria, at sixteen weeks postpartum, in order to examine the relationship between construing of elements and feelings about the baby.

Results

Table 23 shows the significant relationships identified by one way ANOVA, between the construing of elements, the planning variable, 'first feelings when the baby was born' and differences in scores on Baby Questionnaires I and II. The columns of the table are the sub-groups of each variable, and the figures in the rows show the mean number of degrees relating a construct category to a particular element.

As can be seen from Table 23, significant relationships between construing of elements and the variables under consideration were on the dimensions of High v. Low Tenderness (category 17), High v. Low Forcefulness (category 2) and level of Social Interaction (category 1).

Table 23. To show the significant relationships between construing of elements on the motherhood grid and the variables of Planning, 'First feelings when the baby was born' and differences in scores on the Baby Questionnaires

TIME Variable	Construct Category	PREPARTUM (11wks)			POSTPARTUM(16wks)			POSTPARTUM						
		Planned	Unplanned		Planned	Unplanned		Positive first feelings	Ambivalent first feelings		Increased scores on BQ	Decreased scores on BQ	Same scores on BQ	
Element		n ₁ =40	n ₂ =13	F	n ₁ =40	n ₂ =13	F	n=35	n ₂ =18	F	n ₁ =24	n ₂ =22	n ₃ =7	F
Yourself	17a										50.3	34.0	25.5	3.7*
Successful woman	17a										45.7	20.2	20.7	5.0**
Close friend	17a	30.	49.	4.6*										
Good mother	1a	11.4	39.9	12.0***				10.1	25.7	4.8*				
Good mother	2b							38.8	18.0	5.3*				
Career orientated woman	17b	24.5	7.9	4.1*										
Career orientated woman	2a				31.5	6.8	6.5**	31.7	13.1	4.2*				
As you would like to be	2b							33.8	17.1	4.7*				
Your mother	17a				40.2	20.5	5.8*							
Your mother	1b							12.0	33.0	6.4*				

Note 1: The figures in the rows represent the mean degrees of relationship between construct category and element for the column variable in question

Note 2: * = p < 0.05 ; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001

The results show that:

Women with unplanned pregnancies were significantly more likely to describe 'a good mother' using constructs in category 1a, Social Interaction: Active (e.g. sociable, friendly, 'outgoing') at eleven weeks prepartum, than women whose pregnancies were planned ($F=12.0$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.001$). In addition, women expressing ambivalent first feelings about their babies were significantly more likely to describe 'a good mother' using these constructs at sixteen weeks postpartum ($F=4.8$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.05$) and to describe 'your mother' using constructs in category 1b, Social Interaction: Inactive (e.g. home-centred, reserved) ($F=5.3$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.05$).

Women who had planned their babies and felt increasingly positive towards them over the postpartum period, were significantly more likely to use constructs in category 17a: High Tenderness (e.g. cares for children, unselfish) at sixteen weeks postpartum, to describe the elements 'yourself' ($F=3.7$, $df=2,50$, $p < 0.05$), and a 'successful woman' ($F=5.0$, $df=1,50$, $p < 0.01$), than women with unplanned pregnancies, who had decreasingly positive feelings over the postpartum period.

Women who had planned their babies were significantly more likely to describe 'a career orientated woman' using constructs in category 17b: Low Tenderness (e.g. uncaring, does not care for children) at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=4.1$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.05$) and those in category 2a: High Forcefulness (e.g. strongminded, quicktempered, tense) to describe the same element at sixteen weeks postpartum. ($F=6.5$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.05$), than those women with unplanned babies.

Women who had planned their babies were significantly more likely to describe 'a close friend' using constructs in category 17a: High Tenderness (e.g. unselfish, caring) at eleven weeks prepartum ($F=4.6$, $df=1.51$, $p < 0.05$), and 'your mother' using constructs in this category at sixteen weeks postpartum ($F=5.8$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.05$).

Women who had planned their babies and reported positive first feelings towards them were significantly more likely, at sixteen weeks postpartum, to describe a 'career orientated woman' using constructs in category 2a: High Forcefulness (e.g. strong minded, tense, quick tempered), ($F=4.2$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.01$), and to use constructs in category 2b: Low Forcefulness (e.g. patient, calm, even tempered) to describe the elements 'a good mother' ($F=5.3$, $df=1,51$, $p < 0.05$), and 'as you would like to be' ($F=4.7$, $df=1,52$, $p < 0.05$), than women whose babies were unplanned, and who had ambivalent first feelings towards them.

Summary

Table 24 summarizes the significant relationships between the construing of motherhood, the planning decision and the experience of motherhood, (as expressed by 'first feelings when the baby was born' and differences in scores on the Baby Questionnaire over the postpartum period).

As this table shows, Hypothesis IVb(i-iii) was confirmed by these results; women who had planned their babies and who also had positive first feelings towards them, and increasingly positive feelings over the postpartum period, were more likely to have a more positive social identity as mothers. This was characterized by identification of self with similar ingroup members (your mother, 'a good mother', 'a close friend'), and greater perceived distance of self from outgroup (a 'career orientated woman'). This was also shown by greater usage of constructs on the positive poles of the maternal dimension (Low Forcefulness: 2b; High tenderness: 17a), to describe self and similar ingroup members and the contrastive poles of the maternal dimension (High Forcefulness: 2a; Low Tenderness: 17b), to describe 'a career orientated' woman.

Table 24. A summary of the significant relationships between the construing of motherhood, planning and feelings for the baby.

	PLANNED	UNPLANNED
PREPARTUM	<p>More usage of constructs in category 2b: Low Forcefulness (patient, calm, contented) to differentiate between the elements.</p> <p>More likely to describe a 'close friend' using constructs in category 17a: High Tenderness (e.g. unselfish, caring) and a 'career orientated woman' using constructs in category 17b: Low Tenderness (e.g. uncaring).</p>	<p>More usage of constructs in category 1a: Social Interaction: Active (e.g. sociable, outgoing, friendly) to describe 'a good mother'.</p>
POSTPARTUM	<p>More likely to describe 'a career orientated woman' using constructs in category 17a: High Forcefulness (strongminded, quick tempered etc.)</p>	
	INCREASED SCORES ON BQ	DECREASED SCORES ON BQ
POSTPARTUM	<p><u>Less</u> likely to see 'yourself' as similar to 'a career orientated woman'.</p> <p>More likely to use constructs in category 17a: High Tenderness (e.g. unselfish, cares for children) to describe 'yourself' and a 'successful woman'.</p>	<p>More likely to see 'yourself' similar to 'a career orientated woman'.</p>
	POSITIVE FIRST FEELINGS	AMBIVALENT FIRST FEELINGS
POSTPARTUM	<p><u>More</u> likely to see 'yourself' as similar to 'a good mother' and 'your mother' and distant from 'not a good mother'.</p>	<p><u>Less</u> likely to see 'yourself' as similar to 'a good mother', 'your mother' and distant from 'not a good mother'.</p>

Table 24 continued

	PLANNED	UNPLANNED
POSTPARTUM (contd.)	<p>More likely to use constructs in category 2b:Low Forcefulness(e.g. patient, contented) to describe a 'good mother' and 'as you would like to be'</p> <p>More likely to use constructs in category 2a:High Forcefulness(e.g.strongminded, quick tempered, tense) to describe 'a career orientated woman'</p>	<p>More likely to use constructs in category 1a: Social Interaction, Active (e.g. sociable, friendly, outgoing) to describe 'a good mother' and constructs in category 1b: Social Interaction, Inactive (e.g. home-centred, reserved, unsociable) to describe 'your mother'.</p>

In addition, women with planned pregnancies were more likely to describe a 'successful woman' using the positive pole of the maternal dimension (17a: High Tenderness).

Women with unplanned pregnancies, who had ambivalent first feelings towards their babies and decreasingly positive feelings about their babies over the postpartum period, were more likely to see themselves as similar to rather than distant from, outgroup (a 'career orientated woman'), than women with planned pregnancies; they were also more likely to differentiate between ingroup members on the social dimension, using constructs in the category of Social Interaction: Active (1a, e.g. sociable, outgoing, friendly) to describe 'a good mother', and constructs in the category of Social Interaction: Inactive (1b, e.g. home-centred, reserved, unsociable) to describe 'your mother'.

Discussion

These results show that variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother were more prevalent at sixteen weeks postpartum, and were associated with the planning decision and feelings towards the baby. That these variations were relatively less prevalent in the prepartum period, could be explained by the timing of the first interview, at eleven weeks prepartum. Although Zajicek (1981) found that women who expressed negative feelings about being pregnant were more likely to have unplanned pregnancies, it was suggested that these feelings were more likely to be expressed when pregnancy was first discovered, rather than seven months into pregnancy; she states that:

"conflicts about being pregnant which occur later during pregnancy are not related to whether or not the pregnancy was planned and whether the woman originally felt pleased to be pregnant. They are conflicts which seem to arise directly from the psychophysical

experiences in pregnancy which are perhaps linked to more general reactions to womanhood" (p. 49).

Thus it would seem that variations in the evaluation of self as mother as associated with the planning decision, would be more likely to be found early in pregnancy, when the affect of choice, or the lack of it, would be more immediate; later in pregnancy, when women had become used to the idea of being mothers, negative feelings derived from concerns relating to the physical experience of pregnancy, rather than less positive evaluation of self as mother.

For women who had planned their babies, a more positive social identity as a mother was associated with more positive feelings towards the baby, over the postpartum period. A theoretical explanation for this result relates to the evaluative component of social identity. As was discussed earlier (p. 152), there was no evidence for the sample as a whole that the experience of motherhood itself led to the accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences, as a result of the greater emotional significance of value connotation of ingroup membership (Tajfel, 1978). However, in relation to the planning variable, it can be seen that for women who planned their babies, the experience of motherhood itself (in terms of feelings towards the baby), led to increased identification with ingroup members ('your mother', 'good mother') and greater dissimilarity from outgroup ('career orientated woman'), accompanied by a description of ingroup members using positive poles of constructs on the maternal dimension and outgroup on the contrastive poles. This suggested that the experience of motherhood, for this group of mothers, led to greater polarization of judgements and to the accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences.

The association of a more positive social identity and feelings for the baby with greater usage of constructs on the maternal dimension is confirmatory of Breen's (1975) original hypothesis, which her own results disconfirmed. Breen, in using repertory grid methodology to look at the construing of first time motherhood, found that women in her 'well adjusted' group (one of the criteria of good adjustment being more positive scores on the Baby Questionnaire at 10 weeks postpartum), were more likely to identify themselves with an ideal mother figure and own mother (when perceived as a good mother) in the postpartum period. However, she found that for her 'well adjusted' group, there was a decrease in the number of constructs in the maternal dimension, as well as a general increase in constructs referring to moodiness, quick temper etc. She explained these findings by suggesting that coming to terms with mothering involved the re-construing of it in terms of a less stereotyped, and more personally realistic definitions, as reflected in less usage of constructs suggesting an idealized image such as 'patient', 'unselfish', etc. Breen used the correlation of other constructs to a maternal construct as an index of the maternal dimension prepartum; she measured change in construing by eliciting new constructs postpartum and examined the way in which these correlated with the same maternal construct.

But because Breen does not locate these constructions, that is she does not identify specific constructs as they are used to differentiate particular elements, thus reflecting the process of social comparison, it is not possible from her data to examine the salience of the maternal dimension for particular elements.

From this study, by locating particular construct category descriptions with particular elements, it has been shown that, for the group generally, the application of constructs on the maternal dimension became less salient for the element 'a good mother' (p. 152); however, for women who had comparatively more positive feelings towards their babies, these constructs became more salient in relation to 'self' and 'a good mother' at sixteen weeks postpartum.

Similarly, by locating construct categories with particular elements, it was found that construct categories 2a (High Forcefulness), which included those constructs such as 'quick-tempered' etc., were used in a contrastive sense at sixteen weeks postpartum to describe 'a career orientated woman', someone 'not like me' rather than 'like me'.

Thus, in this study, greater usage of constructs on the maternal dimension, and use of this dimension to compare ingroup members with outgroup, was associated with more positive feelings about the baby, and a more positive social identity as a mother.

Also Breen (1975) considered that the planning decision was of relatively little importance in the evaluation of self as mother and psychological adjustment to motherhood, since definitions of a 'planned' pregnancy often included women with very different psychological orientations to having a child. For instance, she states:

"There is a difference between a woman who gets married and uses no contraception, though she doesn't particularly want a child at this time and a woman who stops using effective contraception in order to conceive." (p. 92).

However, by defining the planning decision in relation to the expressed choice of women to have a baby at the point in their life history at which conception occurs, it has been shown, in this study, that this choice is an important one in relation to the psychological process of becoming a mother, affecting feelings towards the baby and the extent of positive social identity experienced as a result of motherhood.

This point is further illustrated with regard to the pattern of construing for women with unplanned pregnancies, of whom the majority would have preferred pregnancy later in their lives (see p.213).

As has been shown by the results, women with unplanned pregnancies, who were more likely to have ambivalent first feelings towards their babies, and whose positive feelings about their babies decreased over the postpartum period, had a less positive social identity as mothers. This was characterized by less perceived similarity of self to other ingroup members ('your mother', 'good mother'), similarity of self to 'a career orientated woman', and a tendency (though not significant) to perceive self as distant from rather than similar to, ideal self, suggesting relatively low self esteem in the postpartum period. In addition, as well as being less likely to use the maternal dimension to contrast ingroup to outgroup, women with unplanned pregnancies were more likely to describe intragroup differences using the social dimension, that is use of the positive poles of the constructs in the category Social Interaction:Active (1a, e.g. sociable, outgoing, friendly) to describe 'a good mother' and the contrastive poles of constructs in this category (1b, e.g. home-centred, reserved, unsociable)

to describe 'your mother'.

The relationship between an unplanned pregnancy, less positive evaluation of self as mother, and less positive feelings towards the baby have also been found in other studies. For instance, Oakley (1980) found that medium/poor feelings about the baby were associated with low self image as a mother, as measured by the degree to which women identified with motherhood, and Zajicek (1979) in looking at changes in self esteem (as measured by perceived distance of self from ideal self), found that one of the factors relating to low self esteem (greater distance of self from ideal self), was not wanting the pregnancy.

In relation to the greater likelihood of women in the unplanned group of seeing themselves as similar to rather than distant from the element 'a career orientated woman', Hock's (1978) findings are of some relevance. She found that it was an incongruence between work involvement and plans to return to work (i.e. women who were highly career orientated who planned to stay at home with their children) that led to less positive feelings about the baby; since there was no correlation in this study between anticipated time before return to work and feelings about the baby, it is suggested that it is the more general incongruity between becoming a mother and other life plans, that is, the untimely interruption of working life by an unplanned pregnancy, that is associated with less positive feelings towards the baby. Furthermore, the comparatively greater perceived similarity between self and a work orientated figure, suggests a continuing interest in work in the postpartum period.

Also, women experiencing less positive feelings about the baby in the postpartum period, emphasized the social dimension, rather than the maternal one, in characterizing ingroup members, describing the element 'a good mother' with constructs such as sociable, friendly, outgoing. As has been mentioned earlier, Oakley (1980) found that low self image as a mother was associated with medium/poor feelings about the baby and this measure was also related to 'missing work', 'monotony' and 'feeling tied down'. Similarly, in this study, from the interview material relating expressed difficulties in caring for the baby, to the planning decision (p. 222) it was found that women with unplanned pregnancies (less positive feelings about the baby), placed greater emphasis on the restrictive social aspects of motherhood. Furthermore, the use of constructs suggestive of a high level of social interaction, to describe an ideal mother figure by this group of mothers, suggests a desire for the level of social contact as a mother, established in non motherhood, through going out to work.

Finally, in contrast to women in the younger age group, who expressed more satisfaction with motherhood, women who had planned their babies, and felt more positively towards them in the postpartum period, described the element 'a successful woman' using constructs on the positive pole of the maternal dimension (17a: High Tenderness), those also used in self description.

An explanation for this may be that women who had planned their babies (who had higher occupational status) perceived themselves

as 'successful' in relation to whatever activity they were engaged in. This would be in keeping with Jimenez's (1977) findings that women who experienced success in employment had a more satisfying experience in pregnancy and early motherhood, which she concluded, may have been due to a generally more successful style of coping. However, this explanation is contrary to Oakley's (1980) suggestion that women who derived prestige from working (those with higher educational and occupational status) would experience motherhood as comparatively less prestigious, which in turn was related to the passage from a relatively higher to a lower status group.

As has been pointed out earlier (p. 203) an equation of the construing of 'self as a mother' as similar to 'a successful woman' with the perceived relative status of 'mothers' as an ingroup cannot be assumed. However, the findings in this study do seem to indicate that the association of success or prestige with mothering in comparison with work, is related to the choice to become a mother, and the establishment of a positive relationship with the baby. Thus 'success' is defined by women who have planned their babies, and feel more positively towards them in their own terms, that is, by the successful performance of a chosen activity, rather than being necessarily dependent on the relative status ideologically allocated to motherhood in relation to work.

Before summarizing the results from Part I of this study, two examples are given, which serve to illustrate the differences in feelings about being a mother and caring for the baby associated with a planned pregnancy, in

comparison with an unplanned pregnancy.

(i) A planned pregnancy (more positive social identity as a mother)

Ms Shaw was a computer programmer before becoming pregnant; she was 25 at the time of the first interview, and felt that for her, it was the right time in her life to be having a baby; she didn't want to leave it any later, because she wanted to be relatively young when her children were growing up. At eleven weeks prepartum the aspects of childcare she was looking forward to the most were: "the relationship I hope there is going to be between me and my baby... caring for the baby...watching it grow and develop." She did not anticipate any problems in looking after the baby.

At one month postpartum Ms Shaw found that the difficulties in coping with the baby revolved around "waking up in the night", "remembering to make allowance for the baby when going out", and "knowing what is wrong when he's crying and you've already tried everything". However, she did not experience the baby's dependence as a difficulty, finding that the responsibility for another person added a new dimension to her life.

At this time she felt that motherhood was different to what she expected in that: "I don't think I realized how much time a baby could take up". By sixteen weeks postpartum, Ms Shaw felt that her routine was more flexible and she enjoyed most aspects of childcare, especially feeding and bathing, and watching her baby develop. Her feelings about motherhood at this time were as follows: "I think I'm more tolerant, more patient since I've been a mother ... you've got to give up a lot of your time for the baby, there's no choice about that... in the first few weeks I tried to carry

on as before, but it didn't work. Generally I feel more confident about myself, and more sociable towards people...I've also got more space... more time than I had when I was working."

(ii) An unplanned pregnancy (less positive social identity as a mother

Ms Harris was a production worker before becoming pregnant; she was 24 at the time of the first interview and had not planned her baby; she felt that she would have preferred to become pregnant in two or three years time, when she felt she would be more mature.

At eleven weeks prepartum her thoughts about having a baby were as follows:

"I'm not looking forward to having it... I'll be glad when its all over and the baby's born... and afterwards..well, little babies seem so helpless... I think I like them more at about three when they can respond to you." Her first feelings when the baby was born were "tired, exhausted, but glad it was all over and the baby was O.K.".

At one month postpartum Ms Harris felt generally positive about her baby; "I feel proud of my baby, pushing him into town, bathing him, dressing him up in new clothes, and watching him grow". She felt the difficulties about having a new baby were: "my life has changed a lot, at the moment I'm trying to get into a new routine... like doing dinner, washing, ironing (etc.)...it is very hard now I have a baby to look after".

At sixteen weeks postpartum, Ms Harris still enjoyed caring for her baby practically (feeding, bathing, etc.) but she felt that having a baby had made a great difference to her life; "It's a hell of a difference...sometimes he takes over and my life's not my own any more....I can't go out without a babysitter. Some things are good about being a mother, but it's the crying all the time that really gets me down...but sometimes its good...having a family, thats the positive thing."

At this time her main feelings about herself as a mother were that she was 'more tired' and that 'I don't feel like myself anymore". She missed being at work, for financial reasons, and because she had lost contact with her friends; she felt that she might look for a job in the evenings, in order to 'get out a bit more'.

PART I: SUMMARY OF RESULTS

From Part I of this study, it was found that, for the sample as a whole (N=53) in anticipating the event of motherhood, social identity as a mother could be characterized by subjective identification of self with 'a good mother', a 'close friend' and 'your mother' as similar ingroup members in comparison to 'a career orientated woman' as outgroup. The most salient dimension (accounting for 40% of total number of constructs used) in defining social category membership was the maternal dimension, as represented by the Landfield (1971) categories of High/Low Tenderness and High/Low Forcefulness. The maternal dimension was used to differentiate ingroup members from outgroup. The dimension second in importance was the social dimension (23% of total number of constructs used), as represented by the Landfield categories of Active/Inactive Social Interaction and Factual Description; this dimension was used to characterize intra-group rather than intergroup differences.

Although the experience of motherhood was considered to be confirmatory of the 'hypothesized' social identity established in pregnancy, in that there was no general change in the relative importance of construct categories in description of the elements, there was no evidence that the transition to motherhood, for the sample as a whole, led to accentuation of ingroup similarities and outgroup differences (from Tajfel, 1978), as would have been reflected in the polarization of construct descriptions for elements.

Furthermore, the perception of the relative status of ingroup did not appear to be a major dimension in the social categorization of motherhood (from Turner, 1982), since constructs falling into the Landfield (1971) category of High/Low Status accounted for only 5% of the total number of constructs used.

Variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother were associated with antecedent social factors,, social choice, and motherhood outcomes (satisfaction with motherhood, feelings about the baby).

A more positive social identity as a mother was defined by greater perceived similarity of self to ideal self and ingroup members, and differentiation of ingroup from outgroup using the maternal dimension, and a less positive social identity as a mother, by less perceived similarity of self with ideal self and ingroup members and/or identification with outgroup, and differentiation of ingroup using the social dimension.

Differences in the degree of positivity of social identity were associated with two distinct groups of intercorrelated variables; age, number of years worked, and satisfaction with motherhood, and planning and feelings towards the baby.

Women who were somewhat younger, and had worked for comparatively fewer years were likely to have a more positive social identity as a mother, which was in evidence in the prepartum period, and was associated with more satisfaction with motherhood postpartum, suggesting that it was confirmed rather than disconfirmed by the experience of motherhood itself. These women were also more likely to be less highly educated, to have more traditional attitudes

towards the role of women, and to anticipate returning to work comparatively sooner. Conversely, women who were older and had worked somewhat longer were likely to have a less positive social identity as mothers, which was in evidence in the prepartum period, and was associated with less satisfaction with motherhood postpartum, suggesting again that expectations built up about motherhood prepartum were confirmed by the experience of motherhood itself. By examination of patterns of identification and construction associated with these variables, in conjunction with interview material, it was concluded that variations in social identity associated with these variables were dependent on the degree of continuity in social relationships in the transition to motherhood, rather than the degree of career orientation, and anticipated time before return to work in the postpartum period. For women who were somewhat younger and had worked for fewer years, a more positive social identity was linked to perceived similarity between own mother and friends, both pre and postpartum and a continuity in social relationships in the transition to motherhood. For women who were somewhat older, and had worked for longer, a less positive social identity was associated with less perceived similarity to mother and friend, and ingroup differentiation on the social dimension, which related to a disruption of social relationships in the transition to motherhood, and the desire consequently, to establish as the mother, a level of social contact experienced through working.

In addition, it was considered that anticipated time before return to work was more dependent on the availability of work on a part time basis, than degree of career orientation.

The other main variable associated with variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother, was the planning decision. Women who had planned pregnancies, were more likely to have a more positive social identity as mothers, and feel more positively about their babies over the postpartum period. These women were also more likely to have higher occupational status than women with unplanned pregnancies.

Variations in the positivity of social identity, in association with the planning decision, were more prevalent in the postpartum period, and were established in relation to differing feelings about the baby. It was concluded from this that 'feelings for the baby' contributed to the value or emotional significance of ingroup membership, leading to the accentuation of ingroup similarities, and outgroup differences at sixteen weeks postpartum. Looking at the patterns of identification and construction characteristic of the planned and unplanned groups, in conjunction with interview material, it was concluded that for women with unplanned pregnancies, a less positive social identity as mothers was associated with the incongruity between becoming a mother, and other life plans. Greater perceived similarity of 'self' to 'a career orientated woman' and description of 'a good mother' using constructs such as sociable, friendly, interests centred outside the home, etc., were indicative of a continuing interest in work, in the postpartum period, and a desire for the level of social contact established as a working woman. Furthermore, the majority of women with unplanned pregnancies would have preferred to have a baby later on in their lives, when they would feel more prepared to take on the role of mother.

PART TWO: GENDER IDENTITY IN THE ANTICIPATION
AND EXPERIENCE OF FIRST TIME
MOTHERHOOD

CHAPTER V. GENDER IDENTITY IN THE ANTICIPATION AND EXPERIENCE
OF FIRST TIME MOTHERHOOD

Introduction

Part II of this study looks at womens' perceptions of their gender, that is, a cultural rather than biological definition of what it means to be feminine or masculine (Archer and Lloyd, 1982), in the context of the anticipation and experience of first time motherhood. It is thought that gender identity will be an important factor in influencing both the way in which women conceptualize themselves as mothers and their experience of motherhood itself. (Breen, 1975; Abrahams, Feldman and Nash, 1978; Bem, 1978; Feldman, Biringer and Nash, 1981; Nash and Feldman 1981; Baumrind, 1982; Lewis, 1983). The defining characteristics of differing perceptions of gender, and their implications for behaviour generally, and motherhood specifically, are discussed in relation to Bem's (1974) concept of psychological androgyny, which "emphasizes the similarities between human beings and assumes that we could choose not to distinguish people by gender" (Archer and Lloyd, 1982 p.215). In the light of criticisms of this approach, Bem's more recent Gender Schema Theory (Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983) is considered, and used as a basis for examining the implications of differing perceptions of gender for the conceptualization of 'self as mother', and experience of first time motherhood.

I. The Concept of Androgyny and its Implications for Behaviour

Historically, gender identity has been taken to be synonymous with biological sex, being described by the bipolar dimensions of masculinity and femininity. Men and women were thought to be competent in different areas, determined largely by biological predisposition and reinforced by appropriate socialization; inadequate socialization could lead to cross sex identity or in diffuse identity. (Baumrind, 1982).

This position is based on the notion that evolutionary advantages are conferred by clear cut gender role differentiations in which men and women play out their complementary roles in society, and psychoanalytic theory emphasizes the importance of well defined gender related traits throughout the childrearing years, which would become muted, when they no longer conferred evolutionary advantage (Baumrind:ibid).

Thus identification with well defined gender related traits, those associated with being biologically feminine or masculine, was considered to be the norm, any other gender identification being seen as problematic.

Bem (1974) turned this conception on its head; she suggested that characteristics defining masculinity and femininity were culturally rather than biologically determined;

"As a result of historical accident, the culture has clustered a quite heterogenous collection of attributes into mutually exclusive categories, each category being

considered both more characteristic of and more desirable for one or other of the two sexes. These cultural expectations and prescriptions are well known by virtually all members of the culture". (Bem 1979 p.1048).

This implied that masculinity and femininity could be identified as two separate dimensions rather than a bipolar continuum, and therefore it could be possible for some individuals to ascribe to both masculine and feminine characteristics, depending on situational rather than biological appropriateness of behaviour.⁵

Bem (1974) described as 'androgynous' those people who combined masculinity and femininity within their gender identity, and suggested that because androgynous people were able to respond to situations in the way they felt was appropriate, rather than according to the way in which a man or woman would be expected to react, their behaviour should be more flexible and effective, and they should experience more success in the world than sex typed individuals, whose behaviour was restricted by their adherence to feminine and masculine cultural prescriptions.

In order to distinguish between feminine and masculine sex typed and androgynous individuals, Bem (1974) developed the Bem Sex Role Inventory, the operationalization of which led to a redefinition of androgyny (Bem, 1977) at the suggestion of

5. Feminine and masculine characteristics are usually contrasted in terms of either Parsons and Bale's (1955) distinction between expressivity and instrumentality or Bakan's (1966) distinction between communion and agency.

Spence and Helmreich (1979b) to include only those people who were high in both femininity and masculinity, defining those who were low in both these qualities as undifferentiated, which indicated ill defined or underdeveloped gender identity. (Bem found that these groups differed from one another on measure of self esteem, the androgynous group having higher self esteem than the undifferentiated group).

Thus the ideal person, the androgynous person, would display, as well as attribute to herself, the best qualities of both sexes, both greater instrumentality (dominance, agency) and greater expressivity (warmth, communion). Androgynous individuals would also be expected to display greater sex role flexibility, have higher self esteem and function more effectively at work and home. (Kaplan and Sedney, 1980).

Bem (1978), in her own studies, confirmed her view that sex typing functioned to restrict behaviour; she found that feminine women were high in nurturance but low in independence, but that they were not consistently high even in nurturance, being more so where a relatively passive or responsive role was required, where no responsibility for initiating or sustaining interaction was taken.

Some recent studies have confirmed Bem's suppositions about the effectiveness of an androgynous gender identity.

For instance, Williams (1979), looking at gender identity in relation to mental health, and using the BRSI to define gender

identifications, found that androgynous women reported fewer psychiatric symptoms than high masculine, high feminine, or undifferentiated women, which she felt arose from more effective interaction with the social environment and thus low life stress.

Small, Teagno and Selz (1980), looking at the relationship between gender identity as defined by the BSRI, and medical, psychiatric and personality functioning in adolescence, found consistent differences in relation to gender identity and a measure of adolescent personality functioning. Androgynous individuals possessed adaptive capabilities and resources, such as effective coping techniques, emotional integration, communication skills and a well defined self concept (ie ego strength and a high level of psychological integration).

In relation to self esteem, Spence and Helmreich (1975) found, using their own measure for assessing gender identity, the Personal Attributes Questionnaire, that androgynous subjects had higher self esteem than masculine, feminine or undifferentiated subjects, and took this to indicate that they were personally and socially more effective.

Keyes (1984), using the PAQ for a British sample, found that the same relationship held true, that is androgynous individuals had higher self esteem than the other groups.

The major disagreements relating to the assumptions that Bem made about the psychological and behavioural implications

of being androgynous, are that it is the level of 'masculinity', and not the combination of masculinity and femininity that is predictive of effectiveness in social situations (Jones, Chernovitz, and Hansson , 1978; Locksley & Colten, 1979; Silvern & Ryan, 1979). These, and other studies also suggest that gender identity is developmentally and situationally defined, that is is dynamic and not static, and will change over the lifespan and in relation to social context. (Garske, 1975; Gerber & Balkin, 1977; Abrahams, Feldman and Nash, 1978; Baumrind, 1982).

(a) Masculinity and Adjustment

In looking at the concept of androgyny, Locksley and Colten (1979) point out that:

"Underlying the notion of psychological androgyny is the assumption that sex typing per se is dysfunctional or maladaptive, and that men are as disadvantaged as women, since they are expected to conform or aspire to a stereotypic ideal of masculinity, just as women are expected to conform to the stereotypic ideal of femininity. Neither data produced by Bem and Spence and Helmreich nor observations of the relative well being of men and women in our society support the conclusion that individuals evidencing exclusively masculine traits are in fact as disadvantaged as those evidencing exclusively feminine characteristics". (p.1028).

Studies relating gender identity to measures of 'adjustment' have indicated that it is levels of masculinity rather than levels of both femininity and masculinity that are most relevant to this dimension.

Jones, Chernovitz and Hansson (1978) used the hypothesis that psychological androgyny permits greater behavioural

flexibility and consequently, leads to better adjustment, as a basis for comparing the relationship between gender identification and attitudinal, personality and behavioural dimensions. Contrary to expectation, they found that across attitudes towards womens' issues, gender identifications, neurosis, introversion-extraversion, locus of control, self esteem, problems with alcohol, creativity, political awareness, confidence in ones own ability, flexibility and maturity, better adjustment was associated with masculinity rather than androgyny.

Furthermore, feminine subjects, independent of their particular gender identifications, preferred to become more masculine were that possible, and the more masculine a woman was the more competent and secure she felt.

Also this study revealed that the androgyny-adaptability hypothesis did not hold true for men; androgynous men scored in the less adaptive direction than masculine men, and in no case were androgynous men found to be more adaptive, flexible or competent than masculine males.

In discussing the internalization of traits of agency (masculinity) and communion (femininity) Jones et al conclude:

In a society that prefers the former to the latter it is reasonable to conclude that individuals high in agentic tendencies will not only be more successful within the context of such a society's values, but such persons will feel more confident due to a differential application of social rewards. (p.311).

Similarly, Silvern and Ryan (1979) sought to investigate the relationship between BSRI scores and self rated adjustment measures, taking the position that masculinity was the predominant predictor of self rated adjustment.

They found that in the case of every comparison between sex typed groups, the group found to be significantly higher in adjustment was also significantly higher in masculinity.

Groups that did not differ in masculinity did not differ in adjustment, regardless of whether they differed in femininity. Silvern and Ryan (1979) conclude:

"While masculine traits may be more associated with personal comfort or adjustment, self reported feminine traits such as 'compassionate' may be highly valuable for different reasons. A related implication on the limitations of the present findings arise from the fact that self rated adjustment was the only predictor of mental health".
(p.761)

Thus these studies illustrate that androgynous individuals would only be more effective because they have high levels of masculinity. Also they lead to the conclusion that, in looking at a gender identity in relation to measures reflecting social effectiveness, it is within a Western Society which emphasizes agency as oppose to communal relations. Contextualizing gender identity in relation to behaviour in more specific contexts may lead to different results.

Lenney (1979) in her review of the literature on androgyny, suggests that cross situational generalizations should be

avoided with regard to the behavioural implications of gender identity, since a sex typed individual "undoubtedly is not sex typed in all situations", (p.713) and, as Locksley and Colten (1979) point out, an androgynous person is unlikely to display sex inappropriate behaviours when sex appropriate behaviour is situationally appropriate.

In this light, attempts have been made to look at the way in which variations in situations affect the perception of gender (see Garske, 1975; Gerber and Balkin, 1977) and also how stage of development or point in the lifespan might influence gender identity and the behaviour associated with it. With this in mind, it is the literature relating gender identity to motherhood and parenting that is of most interest for this study.

(b) Gender Identity and Motherhood.

As has been mentioned earlier (p. 253), Bem (1978) concluded that feminine sex typed women were high in nurturance only when a passive, rather than an active or initiating involvement with a situation was required. In relating this assumption to the experience of motherhood, in which caring involves an active relationship with the baby, it would be expected that androgynous women would be more effective as mothers, as their gender identity is characterized by both agentic and communal qualities.

Some support for this position comes from Breen (1975), though not employing the BSRI as a measure of gender identity.

Breen (ibid) found that the group of women identified as 'well adjusted' were more likely to show a decrease in femininity score over the period from pregnancy to early motherhood. Using the Frank Drawing Completion Test as a measure of femininity, she found that the largest difference between the 'well adjusted' and the 'ill adjusted' women could be located on the dimension of 'passive containers' which were interpreted by Frank as an expression of a feminine nature. 'Ill adjusted' women did many more drawings scored in this way than did 'well adjusted' women.

Similarly Oakley (1980), although again not using BSRI as a measure of gender identity, found a relationship between a traditional feminine role orientation (acceptance of the definition of women as primarily devoted to the housewife-wife-mother triad) and medium/poor feelings for the baby. She suggested one explanation for this as being that "the experience of self as passive and submissive (feminine) was more conducive to a negative appreciation of the baby as 'dictator'." (p.158). However, these explanations seem to concentrate on the endorsement of the passive dimension as definitive of femininity, rather than an overall profile, including positive communal characteristics.

Lewis (1983), using the BSRI to look at gender identification in pregnancy and childbirth, found that for her group of women as a whole, in comparison with a control group, female role identification increased over the course of childbirth; she found also that femininity was negatively correlated with

trait anxiety after birth and that androgynous women and those with high levels of masculinity were more likely to display skills relative to coping with the experience, that is they were more likely to get support and less likely to feel anxious and depressed about the birth and to report severe ongoing problems.

Other studies, looking at gender identity in relation to motherhood, emphasize the position reflected in Lewis's (1983) findings, that self identification with feminine qualities might well represent an 'adjusted' rather than an 'ill adjusted' response to motherhood.

Abrahams, Feldman and Nash (1978), Nash and Feldman (1980) and Feldman, Biringen and Nash (1981) look at this relationship in terms of the view that changes in sex role self concepts are directly related to corresponding changes in life situation, and that these life experiences could be characterized as requiring various degrees of feminine and/or masculine qualities for their effective performance.

Abrahams, Feldman and Nash (1978) looked at changes in attributions of femininity and masculinity, using the BSRI, in relation to four life situations, cohabitation, marriage, anticipation of the first child and parenthood. The latter two situations will be discussed as of greater relevance to this study.

It was predicted that, in pregnancy (anticipation of the first child) both men and women would emphasize feminine and masculine

characteristics, that is endorse an androgynous self description, women because of a combination of feelings of autonomy and self sufficiency, as well as anticipatory nurturance and greater need for attention and emotional support in pregnancy, and men due to a combination of their increased concern with providing for the needs of their family, as well as heightened responsiveness to the needs of their wives.

In the parent situation, because of the divergence of tasks they are called upon to perform, a divergence in sex role self concept was predicted; because of taking primary responsibility for the care of the child, women were expected to emphasize feminine and de-emphasize masculine qualities in their self description, and because men became increasingly preoccupied with supporting the family economically and the decreased amount of time available for husband-wife interaction, men would accentuate masculine qualities and minimize feminine ones.

These predictions were confirmed by femininity and masculinity scores from the BSRI. It was also found that the behaviour change required over all four situations mentioned above was much greater for women than for men. A masculine orientation was consistent with the men's major role responsibilities in all four situations, whereas it became increasingly less so for women across the four situations.

Nash and Feldman (1980) further delineated the situational characteristics of motherhood that distinguished it from other

stages in the life cycle, finding a substantial effect of stage of family life cycle for women on interest in, and reactivity to babies; compared to mothers of older children, mothers of infants were more responsive to babies and spent more time looking at baby pictures.

Feldman, Biringen and Nash (1981), using factor analysis to examine the specific components of gender identity which changed in relation to life situations, found that in relation to expectancy, pregnant women characterized themselves as more socially inhibited, lower in leadership and somewhat lower in autonomy than other women, whereas expectant men were somewhat higher in leadership and assertiveness than other men. Young parenthood had a traditionalizing effect on sex related self descriptions; mothers of young children scored higher on tenderness than other women, and fathers of young children higher on leadership, autonomy and assertiveness, and lower in acquiescence.

Thus, it can be seen that for women, both levels of nurturance (i.e. reactivity to babies) and self identification with feminine qualities can be seen to change over the lifespan, and in relation to motherhood, a feminine gender identity is perhaps adaptive rather than maladaptive.

Baumrind (1982), in her study of gender identity in relation to parenthood, set out specifically to test claims that androgynous individuals are more effective persons, and suggested that "ideals such as those represented by psychological androgyny must be located within a relevant social/historical context in order for their real meaning to emerge" (p. 45).

Generally she found in her study, that although the BSRI had predictive power as a measure of gender identity, in that differences in gender identity related to difference in patterns of parenting, there was no support for the hypothesis that androgynes would make more effective parents. Her data did not support the view that parents with sex typed attitudes suffered from behavioural deficits, or that individuals who claim to possess the socially desirable traits of both sexes make better parents of nine year olds.

More specifically she found that sex typed parents, with fathers who were firm, demanding and positive, leaving the direction of day to day activities to their wives, and mothers who were responsive, loving and involved in supervising the activities of their children, characteristically behaved in accordance with the traditional attitudes they endorsed, and were self confident and comfortable in their parental roles; the daughters from sex typed homes were more competent and assertive than other girls, and the sons were more competent.

Masculinity in mothers correlated with independent and unconventional thinking and with firm demanding child rearing practices, but negatively with sons' social responsibility; femininity was associated strongly with social desirability and endorsement of prescribed behaviour, as well as with all maternal indices of warmth and responsiveness, but with no index of child competence.

Neither androgynous men or women were agentic (firm) in their child rearing practices even though they endorsed agentic as well

as communal values, and androgynous individuals differed from undifferentiated parents by their greater responsivity, androgynous mothers being found to be less punitive than other mothers. Therefore, these results show again that sex typing within the context of parenting is not necessarily inappropriate, and also that it was masculine and not androgynous women who exhibited agentic child rearing practices.

II. Gender Identity and Gender Schema Theory

As a result of studies questioning the concept of androgyny and its behavioural implications, Bem further defined her view of gender identification, in the form of Gender Schema Theory, which places more emphasis on the process of sex typing, how individuals acquire feminine and masculine gender identities, and less emphasis on the concept of androgyny.

Bem (1979, 1981, 1983) as has been mentioned previously, suggests that social categories exist which identify characteristics or attributes as more socially desirable for one or other of the two sexes, and individuals differ from one another in the extent to which they utilize these social categorizations of femininity and masculinity. These social categories are actively processed by each individual using a 'gender schema', which entails a sorting of information on the basis of feminine or masculine equivalence classes, regardless of their differences on a variety of dimensions unrelated to gender. She suggests that the emphasis in a particular culture on the functional importance of particular behaviours, is what transforms a passive network of associations into an active and readily available schema for interpreting reality.

The difference between sex typed and non sex typed individuals in this context, is the degree to which their self concept is related to gender schematization. For the sex typed individual, the gender schema is an important and dominant one in the schematization of self, and this is reflected in and reinforced by sex typed behaviour.

Bem (1983) summarizes Gender Schema Theory thus:

"Gender Schema Theory is a theory of process, not content.

Because sex typed individuals are seen as processing information and regulating their behaviour according to whatever definitions of femininity and masculinity their culture happens to provide, the process of dividing the world into feminine and masculine categories - and not the content - is central to the theory. Accordingly, sex typed individuals are seen to differ from other individuals not primarily in the degree of femininity or masculinity they possess, but in the extent to which their self concepts and behaviours are organized on the basis of gender rather than on the basis of some other dimension."
(P. 605).

Thus the concept of androgyny is less central in Gender Schema Theory, in that the emphasis moves from the notion of individuals developing or combining feminine and masculine qualities , to the aschematization of gender itself, so that a gender becomes just another way of organizing information rather than as a schema central to self concept.

However, in her analysis, Bem does not relate either the structure of gender schema, or its content to the developmental

or social contexts in which they occur, perceiving the content of particular gender identities to have arisen as a result of 'historical accident'. Thus she neglects the importance of the social context in both the formation and content of gender identity. Also, she does not acknowledge the necessity, when considering an identity that is socially rather than biologically determined, of defining gender identity as it arises from the process of social comparison, that is the perception of self as feminine or masculine in relation to others within that context.

Sherif (1982), in her presentation of a proposed theoretical framework for the study of gender, sees the need for studies of gender to be located within social contexts. Like Bem, she conceptualizes gender as a schema, which is part of the 'self' system, and consists of a constellation of attitudinal schemata formed during interaction with physical and social realities.

Possibilities for change are dependent on how much the gender schema is involved with self concept; high involvement with self, or sex typing in Bem's terms, leads to individuals behaving more consistently from situation to situation, or change involving movement to a more extreme position; low involvement with self leads to less consistency in behaviour and a willingness to change to a different, rather than a more extreme, position.

However, Sherif (ibid) suggests that it is only through examining consistencies and coherent patterns of behaviour in their social context that it is possible to learn how gender

identities are formed, and how they change during a life history, or from one generation to the next.

In relation to the second point, Archer (1985) in his critique of Keyes' (1984) findings mentioned earlier, argues that rather than examining abstract stereotypes by measures such as the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence and Helmreich, 1978) and by implication the Bem Sex Role Inventory, it would be more fruitful to look at how stereotypes "are used in the real world" (p. 2).

With these considerations in mind, if variations in gender identity are associated with the relative importance of the gender schema for self concept, then a measure is needed which extends the use of Sex Role Inventories as a means of classifying gender identity, to include a method for examining the way in which perceptions of gender are structured, when self is compared with others, in a particular social context.

III. Gender Schema, the Construct System and Repertory Grid Methodology

In attempting to do this, first of all a brief reminder of the assumptions of Bem (1979; 1981; 1983) and Sherif (1982) about the schematization of gender would be appropriate. The essence of these approaches suggests that social categorizations of femininity and masculinity are actively processed by each individual by a gender schema, which involves the sorting of information on the basis of feminine and masculine equivalence classes, regardless of their differences on a variety of dimensions unrelated to gender. The differences in gender identity, that is, the extent

an individual is feminine or masculine sex typed, androgynous or undifferentiated, depends on the degree to which the gender schema is important or dominant within the self concept. For the sex typed individual, gender schema is central to self concept, whereas for androgynous individuals this is not the case. For the sex typed individuals, change arising from experience would be expected to give rise to a movement only to a more extreme position whereas androgynous individuals (for whom the gender schema has less centrality in self concept) would be more willing to change to a different position as a result of experience.

Schemata based models are compatible with Kelly's (1955) conception of the structure of the construct system (see Chapter I, p.24). Thus, groupings of constructs, like schemata, are generated by the dynamic interaction of thought with experience, giving rise to a hierarchically ordered system in which superordinate constructs subsume subordinate ones, as some schemata subsume others (from Adams-Webber, 1979). Stereotypic thought can be understood, as Fransella (1977) suggests, as consisting of a set of related constructs (or a subsystem) which is used in a constellatory or preemptive way, and about which there is agreement between different members of a culture. A preemptive construct is one "which preempts its elements for membership in its own realm exclusively" (Kelly, 1955; p. 156). In relation to perceptions of gender, people would be categorized using preemptive constructs, as either masculine or feminine, but not both. A constellatory construct is "one which fixes the realm membership of its elements" (Kelly, *ibid*). Thus to be feminine, one could only be described as warm, understanding and gentle etc., and not dominant, assertive or aggressive (masculine).

Less stereotypic thought is associated with a more propositional subsystem of constructs, which implies that categories are not mutually exclusive (Fransella and Bannister, 1977) and in terms of the perception of gender, allows for the possibility that people could be categorized as both masculine and feminine, using constructs such as warm, understanding, and dominant, aggressive, in application to the same individual. Use of this form of construing would be expected from androgynous individuals. The former system is likely to represent a 'tight' network of constructs implying a relatively simple view of the world and an unvarying prediction, that is, low susceptibility to change, whereas the latter is likely to represent a 'loose' network of constructs suggesting a more complex view of the world and tending towards a continuing and more propositional interpretation of events (Bannister and Fransella, 1971).

Fransella (1977) proposes that the way people differ in their application of constellatory construct systems, is in their personal evaluation of them, this being related to the superordinacy of the constructs involved and how these relate to core role constructs (self concept).

Thus if a gender schema is conceived of as a subsystem of constructs, which is either preemptive or propositional, the relationship between feminine and masculine constructs, and their use in self description, can be investigated by means of repertory grid methodology. As has been discussed earlier (Chapter I, p. 26), this method provides a useful way of looking at socially defined conceptions of self, because it rests on the process of social comparison, that is the way in which an individual defines herself

in relation to others. Furthermore, although not integral to Kelly's original usage of repertory grid methodology, measures have been developed which allow for an examination of the structural relationships within a construct system (Bieri, 1955; Bannister and Mair, 1968; Makhoul-Norris, 1970), reflecting both the relationships between the constructs within the system (the way in which they correlate together) and the degree of cognitive complexity/simplicity this implies (these measures are discussed further in Chapter VI, p.294). Thus repertory grid methodology provides a means of analysing the organization of a gender schema, its differing application in self description (relationship between constructs and elements) and the changes that occur in these over time, as a result of the experience of motherhood.

Therefore, with regard to differences in gender schema for women, in the anticipation and experience of first time motherhood, if the constructs of the grid are designed to represent both feminine and masculine qualities, a feminine sex typed woman would be expected to be anticipating motherhood with a gender schema in which the constructs are used in a preceptive and constellatory way, being grouped into mutually exclusive categories of 'feminine' and 'masculine'. The gender schema would be organized to form a 'tight' network, reflecting a relatively low complexity, and being less likely to change as a result of the actual experience of motherhood.

Given the proposal discussed earlier (see Chapter I, p. 15) that a socially defined identity for women rests on the comparison of self with other women, in terms of what they do in particular social contexts, and using the elements developed for the motherhood grid to reflect this process (see Chapter III, p. 80) it would be expected that feminine sex

typed women, as well as using exclusively feminine constructs in self description, would also identify with, and apply feminine constructs to positive mother figures (good mother, your mother), as representing the 'feminine' realm of experience. In comparison, work orientated figures would be seen as dissimilar to self, and described using masculine constructs exclusively.

Furthermore, given the studies discussed earlier in this chapter (Feldman and Nash, 1980; Feldman, Biringen and Nash, 1981; Baumrind, 1982), it would be expected that women who were feminine sex typed would express more satisfaction with motherhood and more positive feelings towards the baby than non sex typed women, since their gender identity would be validated by the experience of motherhood.

For non sex typed women, that is women anticipating motherhood with an androgynous gender identity, it would be less likely that constructs in the gender schema would be highly correlated into two mutually exclusive groups of masculine or feminine constructs, and more likely that the gender schema would reflect a propositional usage of constructs, indicative of a relatively more complex system and being more subject to change over time.

Furthermore, given the equation of high levels of masculinity in gender identity with 'adjustment' in a male orientated society (Jones, Chernovitz and Hansson, 1978; Silvern and Ryan, 1979) it would seem plausible to suggest that androgynous women (those high in masculinity) would be more likely in anticipating motherhood to see themselves as similar to 'a career orientated woman' (as reflecting agentic

characteristics associated with a 'masculine' defined activity), and to use both masculine and feminine constructs in self description. Given the association of an androgynous gender identity with propositional construing (from Fransella, 1977), and greater flexibility in behaviour (Bem, 1974), and the tendency for femininity in gender identity to be 'adaptive' to early motherhood (Abrahams, Feldman and Nash, 1978; Lewis, 1983), it would be expected that as a result of motherhood, these women would see themselves as more similar to mother figures and to use predominantly feminine constructs in self description.

Hypotheses

In relation to these distinctions between feminine sex typed and androgynous women, the following hypotheses have been developed;

Hypothesis Vi: For the feminine sex typed women (as identified by Bem Sex Role Inventory) the gender schema (as represented by feminine and masculine constructs on a repertory grid) will

have a major bipolar dimension, the poles of which will be defined by intercorrelated feminine constructs at one pole and intercorrelated masculine constructs at the other (from Fransella, 1977; Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983).

Hypothesis Vii: This gender schema will be indicative of a 'tight' system of construing with relatively low cognitive complexity, and with little likelihood of change as a result of the experience of motherhood (from Fransella, 1977; Sherif, 1982).

Hypothesis Viii: For the feminine sex typed women self will be identified with ideal self and mother figures (own mother, good

mother) as measured by distance of self from other elements on the repertory grid, and feminine constructs only will be used in self description and in describing these elements (as represented by the relationship between constructs and elements on a two component graph from the repertory grid matrix) (from Fransella, 1977; Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983).

This emphasis on femininity in self description, because of its assumed adaptiveness to the experience of motherhood, will change little as a result of the experience of motherhood (from Abrahams, Feldman, Nash, 1978; Baumrind, 1982).

From the same sources, the following hypotheses were derived for androgynous women:

Hypothesis VIi: For androgynous women (as identified by the BEM Sex Role Inventory using the median split scoring method of Spence and Helmreich, 1979) the gender schema will be represented on two or more dimensions; the poles of these dimensions are likely to be defined by the intercorrelation of masculine and feminine constructs, that is, not organized on the basis of gender.

Hypothesis VIii: This schematization of gender will be suggestive of a loose network, representing a relatively more complex system, which will change as a result of the experience of motherhood.

Hypothesis VIiii: For androgynous women in the anticipation of motherhood, self will be identified with work orientated figures (from Jones, Chernovitz and Hansson, 1978; Silvern and Ryan, 1979), and both feminine and masculine constructs will be used in self

description. As a result of the experience of motherhood, self will be identified more closely with mother figures, feminine constructs only being applied in self description (Bem, 1974; Abrahams, Feldman and Nash, 1978; Lewis, 1983).

Hypothesis VII: Women with gender identities high in femininity (feminine sex typed, androgynous) are more likely than those women with gender identities low in femininity (masculine, undifferentiated) to experience more satisfaction with motherhood, and express more positive feelings towards their babies (from Abrahams, Feldman and Nash, 1978; Feldman, Biringen and Nash, 1981; Baumrind, 1982).

CHAPTER VI: METHODS USED FOR INVESTIGATING STRUCTURAL VARIATIONS
IN GENDER IDENTITY IN THE ANTICIPATION AND EXPERIENCE
OF FIRST TIME MOTHERHOOD

Aim

The aim of Part II of this study was to investigate the implications of variations in gender identity for the structuring of a gender schema, in the context of the anticipation and experience of first time motherhood.

Measures Used

The sample used for Part II of this study and the procedure followed were the same as for Part I (see Chapter III pp. 72-77).

The Bem Sex Role Inventory was used as a means of identifying the sex role conceptions (gender identity) of the women in the sample; it was administered as part of the postal questionnaire at one month postpartum. A femininity grid was developed in conjunction with this measure to see whether variations in gender identity could be accounted for by differences in the structure or organization of the gender schema (as represented by the relationship between feminine and masculine constructs in the grid) and differing usage of feminine and masculine constructs in self description. The measure was administered at both the eleven weeks prepartum and the sixteen weeks postpartum interviews.

I. THE BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

(a) The Development of the BSRI.

The BSRI (Bem, 1974) was developed before Gender Schema Theory, rather than as a methodology derived from it. It arose as a reaction to previous measurements of femininity and masculinity as bipolar ends of a single continuum, rather than as independent dimensions reflecting characteristics which can coexist in the same individual.

Bem (ibid) assumed that different perceptions of sex related characteristics had implications for behaviour, in that those people endorsing exclusively either feminine or masculine characteristics would be much less flexible in their behaviour, than those people endorsing both masculine and feminine characteristics. The former were referred to as either being feminine or masculine sex typed, and the latter as being androgynous.

The BSRI was designed to measure femininity, masculinity, androgyny and social desirability, by means of an adjective rating scale, which consists of twenty feminine, twenty masculine and twenty neutral items. These were selected from an original list of four hundred characteristics, two hundred of which were considered to be feminine or masculine, and the remainder to be neutral. The list was given to fifty male and fifty female college students, who were asked to rate the desirability of each characteristic in a man or a woman on a seven point rating scale. The femininity scale on the BSRI was then composed of those items

significantly more desirable for a female, and the same for the masculine scale, the neutral items being composed of half positive, half negative characteristics. (Beere, 1979).

On the inventory, a person is asked to indicate how well each of the sixty adjectives characterizes herself, by means of rating each one on a scale ranging from point 1 (never or almost never true) to point 7 (always or almost always true.)

From the BSRI three scores can be derived; the femininity score which is equivalent to the mean self ratings for all endorsed feminine items, the masculinity score, which is equivalent to the mean self ratings for all endorsed masculine items, and the androgyny score, which reflects the relative amounts of femininity and masculinity that the person includes in her self description and, as such, best characterizes a person's total sex role. (Bem, 1974). The androgyny score is a Student 't' ratio, that is the difference between an individual's masculinity or femininity, normalized with respect to the standard deviations of her femininity and masculinity scores.

The greater the absolute value of the androgyny score, the more the person is sex typed (or sex reversed), high positive values indicating femininity, high negative values indicating masculinity, and scores near zero, androgyny.⁶

6. Significant sex typing was marked by a 't' ratio of $>\pm 2.025$, $df=38$. A score fell into the androgynous category if it was less than ± 1 , $df=38$.

So a feminine sex role identification represents not only the endorsement of feminine attributes, but the rejection of masculine ones.

(b) Modification of Scoring Procedures.

The main modification to scoring procedures for the BSRI has been the use of the median split technique, rather than the Student 't' test as the basis of the definition of categories (see Spence and Helmreich, 1979). By using this technique a further distinction was made in the androgynous group, by separating those individuals who were high on femininity and masculinity (androgynous), from those who were low on both these characteristics (undifferentiated).

The median split technique is based on the absolute score on the femininity and masculinity scales; the median scores on both scales for the sample are found and each individual score compared with the median: four groups are formed in this way:- feminine (scores above median for F, below for M), masculine (above median for M below for F) androgynous (above median for F and M) and undifferentiated (below median for F and M).

Bem (1977) accepted the rationale for separating the androgynous group from the undifferentiated, though questioned whether the androgynous and undifferentiated groups were basically different in their assumptions about gender, in that they were both alike in not being sex typed.

(c) Selection of Items for the BSRI.

The main criticism of item selection is usage of the social desirability criterion, and its implications for the composition of the scales. As outlined above, the feminine items on the BSRI are thought to represent traits that are considered valuable for, or typical in women, and masculine items, traits that are considered valuable, or typical in men.

Smith (1977) suggests that these items are not representative as a basis for feminine and masculine stereotypic classification, since the scales miss out an important source of information, that is social description in socially undesirable terms.

Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) in their critique of the BSRI and review of research relating to its procedures, question the validity of the measure; their own studies revealed that although masculine traits were relatively high in desirability, some of the feminine traits were relatively low, even if the referents were women. This meant that the two scales were not equivalent. This has implications for the composition of the Androgyny score, since people generally tend to attribute positive traits to themselves rather than negative ones. Also evidence produced from a factor analysis of the ratings of trait desirability revealed that although the masculine traits had meaningful loadings on a single factor, reflecting 'assertiveness', feminine and neutral traits were indistinguishable, and broke down into two factors, 'interpersonal sensitivity' and 'emotional immaturity'.

Bem (1979) counters these criticisms by suggesting that although refinements to the inventory could be implemented on the basis of the factor study, the theoretical premises on which item selection rests do not require that each scale should be unidimensional, or equivalent in social desirability. Bem reasons that attributes are culturally clustered into mutually exclusive categories, each category containing traits which are considered both more characteristic of and more desirable for one or other of the two sexes; individuals differ from one another in the extent to which they utilize these cultural definitions of femininity and masculinity, against which their own personality and behaviour is set. Thus the items on the inventory were selected on the basis of judges' ratings of the culturally defined desirability of various attributes for the two sexes; these cultural definitions were expected to be widely known and quite stable across time and from sample to sample. Because of these assumptions on which item selection is based, there is no reason to expect a logical unidimensionality in the form of the scale. In fact, attempting to produce such a structure would be counter to the purpose of the inventory.

(d) The Use of the BSRI as a Measure of Individual Differences in Sex Role Perception.

Another methodological issue relating to the use of the BSRI is whether it is acceptable to describe individuals' perceptions their sex role by use of an inventory designed on the

basis of consensually desirable traits of femininity and masculinity.

Locksley and Colten (1979) and Thomas (1986) argue that psychological androgyny researchers define femininity and masculinity as stereotypically perceived composites of traits believed to differentiate between the sexes on average. But, in order to look at individual sex role concepts, it might be more reasonable to tap concepts most pertinent for self perception and description, since the conceptual and referential context in which judgements are made about the self is entirely different from the context in which judgements are made about the typical man or woman.

Kaplan and Sedney (1980) make a similar point, suggesting that although a measure of androgyny can be derived from the BSRI, from the BSRI, it taps only what people think they are like, rather than providing an explanation of the derivation and utility of being androgynous, within the context of a person's life.

Lenney (1979) feels that sex role related behaviour will depend not only on whether a person's global self description is feminine, masculine or androgynous, but also on cognitive, affective and emotional orientation; the BSRI can measure a global self description (an individual's broad conception of her sex role characteristics), but in order to understand the way in which these relate to behaviour in different situations, it is also necessary to consider differences in beliefs or cognitions about the nature and extent of sex differences, and about the naturalness of traditional sex roles. The general points of these arguments are

accepted by Bem, who developed Gender Schema Theory (Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983) to better contextualize the concepts of androgyny and sex role stereotyping (see Chapter V, p.264).

However, in suggesting that sex role inventories such as the BSRI may present a limited view of womens' perceptions of their gender, it should not be assumed that this view is therefore a meaningless or invalid one. As Frost (1980) has pointed out, womens' descriptions of themselves and of femininity in general, as elicited by these rating scales should be treated as "accurate reports of some aspects of the evidence available...there is no necessary contradiction in treating them also as purposive, as guidelines or plans for acting in a particular social world. Viewed in this way, they may offer some basis for understanding behaviour." (p. 74)

Thus, as Lenney (1979) suggests, the BSRI can be used as a means of identifying different sex role orientations within the context of a broader sociocognitive approach.

(e) Use of the BSRI in the present study

The BSRI was used in the present study as a means of identifying variations in gender identity, in the context of first time motherhood. Analysis of material from the

femininity grids (see pp. 287-299) provided a means of relating these variations to the organization of feminine and masculine constructs in the gender schema, and to the use of feminine and masculine constructs in self description.

(i) Piloting the BSRI

The BSRI was given to the pilot sample of ten subjects at eleven weeks prepartum, and to be self administered, in a postal questionnaire at one month postpartum; these times were chosen in order to see whether the scores on the BSRI, and thus sex role identifications, changed as a result of motherhood. The BSRI, as mentioned previously, was drawn up on the basis of ratings on items from a pool of college students; this has implications for both a biasing of response (see White, 1979) and the general comprehensibility of the scale (words understandable to college students might not be quite so comprehensible for other sections of the population).

Using the BSRI with the pilot group of subjects, composed of women with differing educational and occupational backgrounds, it became apparent that some of the items included on the inventory, were not immediately comprehensible (e.g. analytical, conscientious, assertive etc.), and clarification concerning meaning was requested. This was embarrassing to both parties, and affected the confidence

with which the person completed the inventory.

As such difficulties occurred with five of the ten subjects, and it was thought that some people might interpret an item erroneously, rather than ask the meaning, it was decided to change those items causing the most trouble.

The items causing difficulty (15% of the total) were substituted by others nearly equivalent in meaning, but presented in a more easily understandable or colloquial form.

Those items substituted are listed in Table 25 and a copy of the final form of the inventory, given to those women in the main study (N=53) is included in the Appendix (Fig. 6).

In comparing the scores for the women in the pilot study, by use of the Student 't' ratio, it was found that there was little difference between the scores at eleven weeks prepartum and one month postpartum (see Appendix:Table 3). Thus either no change in sex role perception was occurring over the period, or the BSRI was not a sensitive enough indicator of change.

Table 25. The modified items on the BSRI, listed in original and modified form, and according to scale membership

Original Form	Modified Form	Scale Membership
Assertive	Stand up for your-self	Masculine
Analytical	Logical	Masculine
Self sufficient	Can organize life without others help	Masculine
Yielding	gives way easily	Feminine
Compassionate	Responsive to other people's feelings	Feminine
Gullible	Easily taken in	Feminine
Conscientious	Painstaking	Neutral
Unsystematic	Disorganized	Neutral
Conventional	Similar to most other people	Neutral

Thus, in the main study, the BSRI was given as part of the postal questionnaire, at one month postpartum. The femininity grids were used as a means of looking at changes in the construing of gender identity, and were administered at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

(ii) Methods of Scoring for the main study (N=53)

In order to look at the relationship between gender identity and gender schematization (as measured by the femininity grid) it was first necessary to divide the subjects into groups according to variations in gender identity. The median split technique (Spence and Helmreich, 1979; see p.278) was used for this purpose, since in enabling further differentiation of the androgynous category, it was more definitive of variations in gender identity than Bem's (1974) original scoring method. By using this method the scores of the subjects divided into four groups: Feminine (high feminine; low masculine: N=16), Masculine (high masculine: low feminine: N=14), Androgynous (high feminine: high masculine: N=13) and Undifferentiated (low feminine: low masculine: N=10). When compared with scoring of the sample by Bem's original method (Student 't' ratio) the feminine group, as identified by median split technique, was equivalent to the feminine sex typed group identified by Bem's method. Thus the feminine group was significantly higher in femininity than masculinity, and could be described as 'sex typed'. The three other median split groups were all non sex typed, using Bem's original scoring method, falling either into the androgynous category ($t < \pm 1$, N=19) or between the androgynous and sex typed categories ($t > \pm 1$: $< \pm 2.025$, N=18).

Thus, using the median split technique, four groups were defined, a feminine sex typed group and three non sex typed groups, masculine, androgynous and undifferentiated, which reflected differing balances of femininity and masculinity in gender identity. These groups were used as the basis for examining differing patterns of construing on the femininity grids.

II THE FEMININITY GRID

The femininity grid was designed to investigate Hypotheses V and VI, and examined the organization of the gender schema, and use of feminine and masculine constructs in self description, in relation to variations in the gender identity of women experiencing motherhood for the first time.

(a) The Elements of the Grid

The elements used for the femininity grid were the same as those used for the motherhood grid (see Chapter III, p. 80) as these were selected on the basis of being the most relevant to womens' evaluation of themselves, in the context of the experience of first time motherhood. They were yourself: a good mother: a successful woman: a career orientated woman: a close friend: as you would like to be: your mother: not a good mother.

(b) The Constructs of the Grid

Because the purpose of the femininity grid was to look at

differing constructions of gender, in terms of structural relationships, rather than content, the constructs of the grid were provided, and remained the same pre and postpartum.

In order to look at ways of construing gender, it was necessary that the constructs on the grid were representative of both the feminine and masculine aspects of gender identification. The constructs were thus drawn from feminine and masculine items, as designated by the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

From inventories completed by the pilot group of first time mothers (N=10) the mean and standard deviation for each feminine and each masculine item was calculated; the results of these calculations are displayed in Table 26.

(i) Selection of Feminine Constructs

The means and standard deviations for the list of feminine items were considered, and the assumption made that those with the highest means, and lowest standard deviations, that is those most consensually rated towards the end of the scale designated always/almost always like me, were the most salient feminine items for the group, and therefore likely to be discriminating when used in grid form. The four feminine items selected in this way were: loyal, gentle, understanding, warm.

Appropriate opposites for the feminine items to create bipolar constructs were taken from the PAQ (Spence and Helmreich, 1975) where the item was included on this questionnaire; otherwise the most obvious opposite was chosen. Thus the bipolar feminine

Table 26. Table to show the means and standard deviations for ratings on masculine and feminine items from the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) derived from the pilot study sample (n=10)

Feminine items	mean	standard deviation	Masculine items	mean	standard deviation
yielding	3.5	1.8	self reliant	5.1	1.1
cheerful	5.3	0.9	defends own belief	5.8	1.3
shy	4.4	2.1	independent	4.7	1.2
affectionate	5.6	1.5	athletic	3.6	2.4
flatterable	4.2	1.4	assertive	4.2	1.8
<u>loval</u>	6.4	0.9	strong personality	4.7	1.4
feminine	5.4	0.9	forceful	3.5	2.0
sympathetic	5.2	1.0	analytical	4.8	2.2
sensitive to needs of others	5.5	1.1	has leadership abilities	4.2	1.7
<u>understanding</u>	5.7	0.5	willing to take risks	2.6	1.3
compassionate	5.1	0.7	makes decisions easily	3.8	1.6
eager to soothe hurt feelings	5.2	1.0	self sufficient	5.0	2.0
soft spoken	4.3	1.4	<u>dominant</u>	3.2	1.4
<u>warm</u>	5.4	0.8	<u>masculine</u>	2.1	1.2
tender	5.5	1.1	willing to take a stand	5.1	1.1
gullible	3.4	1.3	<u>aggressive</u>	2.3	1.2
childlike	3.4	2.0	acts as leader	3.6	2.0
does not use harsh language	3.3	1.5	individualistic	4.5	1.7
loves children	6.0	1.5	competitive	3.5	2.1
<u>gentle</u>	5.7	0.9	ambitious	5.0	2.0

*Those items underlined were those chosen as constructs for the femininity grid.

Note: since the rating scale on the BSRI runs from never/almost never like me (1) to always/almost always like me (7) those mean ratings nearest 7 were chosen as being most desirable feminine qualities, and those mean ratings nearest 1 as being least desirable, that is the most masculine qualities.

constructs were: loyal-disloyal ; gentle-rough; understanding-not understanding; warm-cold.

(ii) Selection of the Masculine Constructs

The means and standard deviations of the masculine items from the BSRI were considered, and the assumption made that those items with the lowest means and lowest standard deviations, that is those that had been consensually rated towards the end of the scale never/almost never like me, were the most salient masculine items for the group, and the most contrastive in terms of the feminine items.

An alternative to the selection of masculine items was considered; this would be to use those items which had high means, that is they were rated at the positive end (like me) of the scale, e.g. ambitious, self reliant, self sufficient etc. These qualities however are less 'masculine' in their connotation, and in the 1980's would perhaps be considered as common rather than sex specific qualities. If used on the grid as representative of masculine attributes, it was thought that they would tend to confuse rather than clarify constructions of gender, and therefore the items more generally and directly associated with masculinity were used.

The four masculine items selected on this basis were:-
aggressive: dominant: masculine: willing to take risks. On the grid these were used as the bipolar constructs aggressive-not aggressive; dominant-submissive; masculine-feminine; willing to take risks-not willing to take risks.

Thus a grid with eight elements and eight provided constructs was formed. Each element was then rated on all the constructs at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum giving rise to two 8 x 8 grid matrices for each subject.

(c) Methods of Analysis for the Femininity Grid

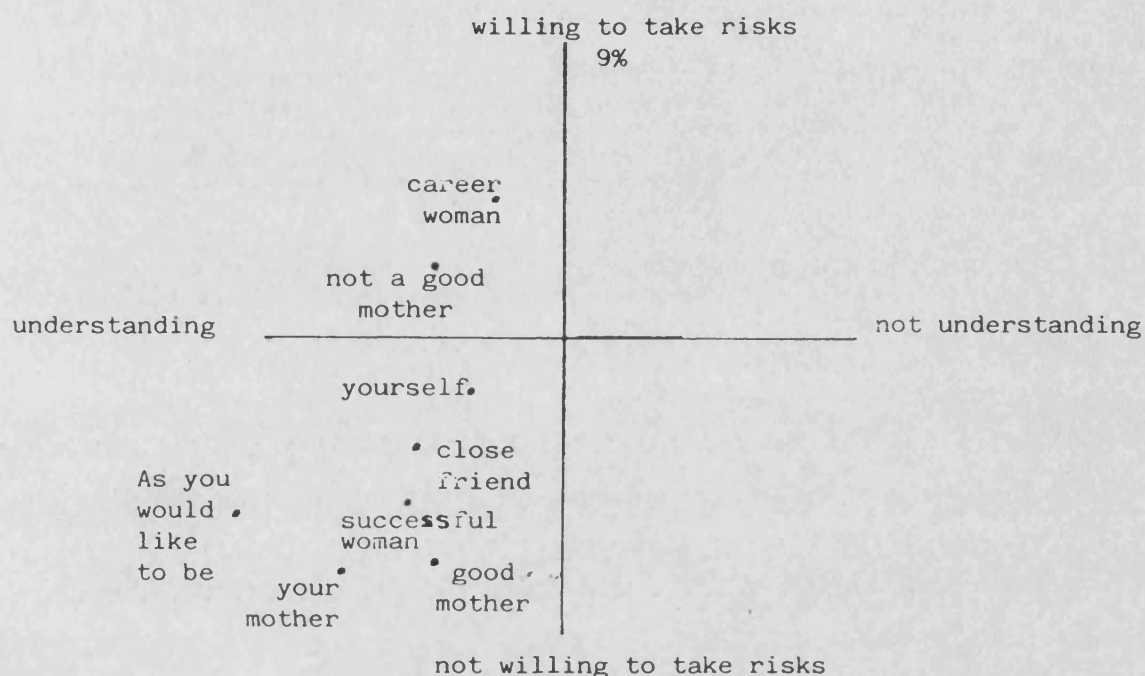
The methods of analysis for the femininity grid will be described in detail only when they differ from those used for the motherhood grids (see Chapter III, pp. 87-107).

Each subject was allocated to one of the four groups defined by using the median split technique (Spence and Helmreich, 1979) on scores from the Bem Sex Role Inventory; feminine sex typed, masculine, androgynous or undifferentiated.

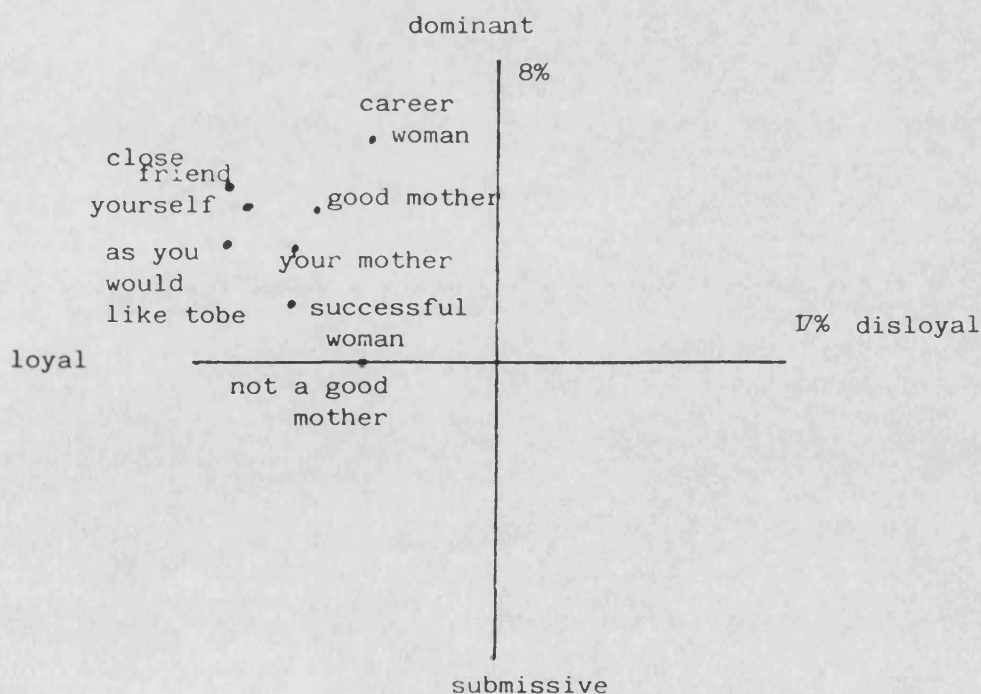
For the pilot study (N=10) the individual matrices were then analysed by the Choice grid program (Rivers, 1980: see Chapter III, pp. 95-97); element matches and construct relationships being compared for individuals within the different BSRI groups. Graphs were also constructed, using one feminine and one masculine construct as axes, to see how differing conceptions of gender affected the organization of constructs and elements from the grid matrix. Two examples of graphs produced in this way are displayed in Fig. 5.

Overall, the results from the analysis of pilot study grids served to demonstrate the validity of the use of the femininity grids, in conjunction with the BSRI, as measures of the

Fig. 5. Graphs produced from a Choice Grid Analysis to show the positioning of elements in relation to the two independent constructs accounting for the highest relationship scores.



a) 'Feminine sex typed' first time mother: 16 weeks postpartum



b) 'Masculine' first time mother: 16 weeks postpartum

differences in gender schematization associated with 'sex typed' and 'non sex typed' gender identities.

Analysis of Femininity Grids from the main study (N=53)

The computer analysis of femininity grids for the main study was performed on each of the four BSRI groups, that is feminine sex typed, masculine, androgynous, undifferentiated, rather than on individual grids, at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

The computer program used for analysis of each group of grids was the Series program from Slater's Grid Analysis Package (see Chapter III, p.98). This program deals with a group of grids aligned by construct and element, providing a summary of data from the groups and a consensus grid from which an Ingrid analysis for the whole group can be derived; this provides a picture representative of the construing of the group.

Thus a Series analysis was performed for each BSRI group on data from the femininity grids, at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum . This provided a summary of the data for subjects within each group. In addition an Ingrid analysis presented a picture of patterns of construing characterizing each group on both occasions. The following measures were used from these analyses to test the predictions in Hypotheses V and VI.

(i) Correlation between Constructs

To look at the relationship between constructs, that is the way in which feminine and masculine constructs were clustered together in the gender schema, the tables of 'Correlation between Constructs' from the Ingrid profile for each BSRI group was used. This table presents correlations between constructs in the element space of a grid matrix, together with corresponding angular distances; an angle of 0° corresponds to a correlation of +1, and an angle of 90° with a correlation of 0.0 and an angle of 180° with a correlation of -1. (Centre for Personal Construct Psychology, 1981).

This table was used as a basis for identifying patterns of intercorrelated constructs by the Makhoul-Norris method for articulation of conceptual structures. Makhoul-Norris et al. (1970) developed a method for inferring the topographical organization of constructs from patterns of correlation in repertory grid matrices. First of all, the correlation matrix is simplified to those constructs correlating at the 5% level of significance. The constructs are then clustered in the following way: if a group of constructs are all significantly related to one another, this constitutes a 'primary' cluster. The relationship of the remaining constructs to these primary clusters can then be mapped; a construct significantly correlated with one or more construct in a primary cluster, but not all, is termed a secondary construct; a construct significantly correlated with one or more constructs in two or more clusters is a linkage construct, and those not correlated with any other constructs are called isolates.

In addition, the superordinate construct could be identified as being the construct accounting for the greatest number of inter-correlations within the system. By this means, Makhoul-Norris et al. identified two types of conceptual structure, articulated and non articulated. Articulated structures contained several different clusters of intercorrelated constructs, which were joined by linkage constructs; this type of structure was typical of normal adults. Non articulated structures consisted of two main types: 'monolithic' non articulated structures were typified by one large primary cluster of inter-correlated constructs and perhaps an unrelated secondary construct, with a few isolates, and 'segmented' non articulated structures had several separate clusters of constructs, with no linkage between the clusters. Non articulated structures were more typical for 'obsessional' neurotics. Thus Makhoul-Norris et al. (1970) were able to relate differences in the structure of the construct system, to personality characteristics.

This method was used in this study to identify patterns of construct correlation for each BSRI group, in order to compare one with another, and look at patterns of change from eleven weeks prepartum to sixteen weeks postpartum.

One modification to this technique was to use those constructs which clustered together at the 1% level of significance, rather than the 5% level, as suggested by Makhoul-Norris. This gave a much clearer picture of the differences between the groups.

(ii) Cognitive Complexity

In conjunction with the Makhoul-Norris (1970) method for identifying patterns of construct relationships, a measure of cognitive complexity was used, to provide an indication of whether these patterns were associated with high or low complexity.

There is some dispute as to whether the cognitive complexity of a construct system is related to the degree of differentiation within it, in terms of the number of independently organized subsystems, or the level of integration, that is the hierarchical integration of subsystems at increasingly higher levels of abstraction (Adams-Webber, 1979).

Bieri (1955) equated the degree of differentiation in a person's construct system with levels of complexity, suggesting that the greater the degree of differentiation among constructs the greater the predictive power of the individual; differentiation was measured by not only the number of constructs a person used, but by the number of independent dimensions, as revealed by counting the number of identical or near identical check patterns in the original data matrix (Cheek-Tutton, 1974).

Bannister (Bannister & Mair, 1968) developed an intensity score to measure structural aspects of the cognitive system; this reflected the overall degree of statistical association between constructs in the repertory grid, as calculated by the arithmetic total of all the construct relationships. In his work with thought disordered schizophrenics, Bannister suggested that a high intensity score was suggestive of a 'tight' construct system, one with

only a few major dimensions, and a low intensity score was suggestive of a 'loose' system and tended to be multi-dimensional. He found that schizophrenics exhibited loose construing, which reflected a random complexity rather than a genuine complexity, associated with a multi-dimensional system.

Adams-Webber (1979) in his review of research based on the two different procedures, found that research in the area generally tended towards supporting Bannister's conclusions, that the degree of statistical association in repertory grid data, reflecting the level of integration of the subject's conceptual structure, was the more reliable measure of cognitive complexity.

However, the psychological interpretation of the intensity score (or its parametric equivalent, the percentage variation accounted for by the first principle component of a grid matrix) must be treated with some caution, and viewed in the light of data provided from other sources; high intensity scores can either be suggestive of a narrow or stereotyped view of the world, or as indicative of an integrated system of primary clusters, suggesting a clear, or highly organized view of the world. Low intensity scores suggest either a complex, multidimensional view of the world, or a fragmented and unformed one.

In this study, the parametric equivalent of the intensity score, that is the explanation power of the first principle component was used to provide an indication of the

cognitive complexity of the structural relationships between constructs, revealed by the Makhoul-Norris method.⁷ This measure is provided by the Principle Components Analysis of the grid matrix on the Ingrid program, and is the percentage of the total variation accounted for by the first principle component arising from this analysis. This was noted from the Ingrid profiles for all the BSRI groups at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

(iii) The Relationship between Elements

The relationship between elements was looked at in terms of how differing gender identities affected the identification of self with other elements, and whether these identifications changed as a result of first time motherhood.

From the 'Distance between Elements' table on the Ingrid program, the distances of other elements from 'yourself' were compared between groups, pre and postpartum (for further description of this measure see Chapter III, p 98).

(iv) The Relationship between Constructs and Elements

In looking at the relationship between constructs and elements on the femininity grids, the aim was to find out whether differences in gender identification were associated with particular

7. The explanation power of the first principle component is not derived directly from the relationship between constructs in the element space, but provides an assessment of the total amount of structure present in the grid matrix. Chetwynd-Tutton (1974) however found that the two measures of cognitive complexity, the non parametric 'intensity score' and the parametric 'explanation power of the first principle component' gave almost identical results when tested on the same population.

characterization of elements with feminine or masculine constructs, looking especially at descriptions of self/ideal self for BSRI groups.

In order to achieve this purpose the Ingrid analysis was used, and a Principle Components graph constructed for each group on both the pre and postpartum occasions (see Chapter III, p. 102 for further description of this measure).

The tables of 'Relationships between Constructs and Elements' were used in conjunction with these graphs to describe the constructs most salient for each element, for all the groups; salience was judged to be a correlation between construct and element which reached the 1% level of significance or above. In this way the differences between the BSRI groups in the assignment of constructs to elements was described; any further tests of significance on the material used was considered inadvisable, since the data was derived from a Principle Components Analysis performed on a 'summarized' set of results.

III. GENDER IDENTITY AND MOTHERHOOD OUTCOMES

To investigate the relationship between variations in gender identity and satisfaction with motherhood and feelings for the baby (see Chapter III, p. 123) the student 't' scores from Bem's original scoring method were used, rather than the absolute scores of femininity and masculinity used as the basis for median split technique. The difference (student 't' scores) provide in one measure an indication of the balance of masculinity and

femininity in gender identity. These scores were subject to regression or non parametric correlation analyses with the measures of motherhood outcome, in order to test for any significant relationships between gender identity and the motherhood experience.

Although no hypotheses related variations in gender identity to antecedent social factors, the relationship between scores on the BSRI and sociohistorical variables were investigated by means of the stepwise regression procedure (Chapter IV, p. 156).

Summary

The measures used in Part II of this study were designed to investigate Hypotheses V and VI, that is to explore the implications of variations in gender identity for gender schematization in the context of the anticipation and experience of first time motherhood.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) was used to identify variations in gender identity for the sample (N=53). Using the median split technique (Spence and Helmreich, 1979) on scores from the inventory, subjects were divided into four groups, feminine sex typed, masculine, androgynous and undifferentiated. A femininity grid was designed to look at the schematization of gender and evaluation of self in relation to others, that characterized these four groups. The grid consisted of four feminine constructs (loyal-disloyal; warm-cold; gentle-rough; understanding-not understanding) and four masculine constructs (aggressive-not aggressive; dominant-submissive; masculine-feminine; willing to take risks-not willing to take risks). These

were rated by the subjects along a seven point scale, in relation to each of the elements (yourself; a good mother; a successful woman; a career orientated woman; a close friend; as you would like to be; your mother; not a good mother) at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

The grid matrices arising from this procedure, were divided according to the BSRI groups defined earlier, and subject to analysis by the Series computer program (Grid Analysis Package, 1981), which provided a summary of the data from the groups; a consensus grid produced from this analysis was further subject to an Ingrid analysis (Slater, 1972b) which provided a profile of patterns of construing for each BSRI group on both pre and postpartum occasions.

The table of 'Correlation Between Constructs' on the Ingrid profile for each group, on both occasions, was analysed by means of the Makhlouf-Norris (1970) method for the articulation of conceptual structures, which allowed examination of the relationship between feminine and masculine constructs in the gender schema. The explanation power of the first principle component from the Ingrid profile gave an indication of the degree of cognitive complexity inherent in the gender schema.

In order to look at differences in self evaluation for each group, in terms both of identification with other elements and usage of feminine and masculine constructs in self description, the distance of other elements from the element 'yourself' (from the 'Distance Between Elements' table on the

Ingrid program), was compared for each BSRI group pre and post-partum. Principle Components graphs were constructed, which demonstrated the way in which feminine and masculine constructs were used to compare and contrast the elements of the grid.

In addition, variations in gender identity as related to motherhood outcomes, were investigated by means of regression procedures or non-parametric correlation analyses, using BSRI scores (as scored by Bem's (1974) original Student 't' method) and the measures of satisfaction with motherhood and feelings about the baby.

CHAPTER VII. GENDER IDENTITY: ITS SCHEMATIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF
THE ANTICIPATION AND EXPERIENCE OF FIRST TIME MOTHERHOOD

(a) Variations in the Schematization of Gender Associated with
Feminine Sex Typed and Non Sex Typed Groups of Women

The predictions concerning variations in the schematization of gender for feminine sex typed and androgynous women were as follows:

Hypothesis Vi: For the feminine sex typed women (as identified by the Bem Sex Role Inventory), the gender schema (as represented by the feminine and masculine constructs on a repertory grid) will have a major bipolar dimension (as identified by the Makhoul-Norris method for articulation of conceptual structures), the poles of which will be defined by intercorrelated feminine constructs at one pole and intercorrelated masculine constructs at the other (from Fransella, 1977; Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983).

Hypothesis V ii: This gender schema will be indicative of a 'tight' system of construing with relatively low cognitive complexity (as measured by the explanatory power of the first principle component from a Principle Components Analysis of the grid matrix), with little likelihood of change as a result of the experience of motherhood (from Fransella, 1977; Sherif, 1982).

Hypothesis VIIi: For androgynous women (as identified by the Bem Sex Role Inventory, using the median split scoring method) the gender schema will have two or more dimensions; the poles of these dimensions are likely to be defined by the intercorrelation of masculine and feminine constructs, that is, not organized on the

basis of gender (Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983).

Hypothesis VIii: This schematization of gender will be suggestive of a loose network representing a relatively more complex system which is likely to change as a result of the experience of motherhood (from Fransella, 1977; Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983; Sherif, 1982).

Results

(i) Correlation between Constructs

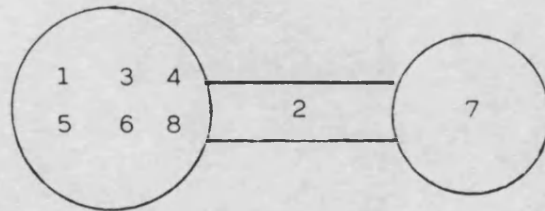
Tables 27 and 28 show the correlation between constructs for each BSRI group at eleven weeks postpartum and sixteen weeks postpartum; correlated constructs were clustered together at the 1% level of significance by the Makhlouf-Norris method, for each Ingrid profile. A brief reminder of the meaning of the terms used would be helpful in interpretation of the results. A primary cluster, which is taken in this study to be indicative of the main dimension of the construct system, consists of constructs all significantly related to one another, a secondary cluster consists of constructs significantly correlated with one or more constructs in the primary cluster, but not all, a linkage construct is significantly correlated with one or more constructs in two or more clusters, and an isolate is a construct not correlated with any other constructs.

For the Feminine Sex Typed group (N=16)

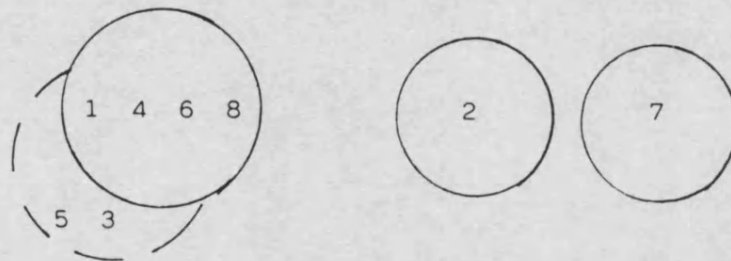
As Table 27 shows, at eleven weeks prepartum there was a large primary cluster (all constructs intercorrelating), linked by one linkage construct (submissive-dominant), to an isolate (willing to take risks-not willing to take risks). Within the primary cluster, in examining the pattern of intercorrelation between the constructs, the positive

Table 27. To show the articulation of feminine-masculine constructs (using the Makhoul-Norris method) for different sex role identity groups (as defined by the Bem Sex Role Inventory) of first time mothers, at both 11 weeks prepartum and 16 weeks postpartum

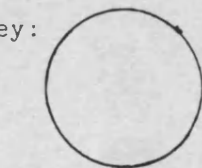
FEMININE SEX TYPED GROUP (N=16) 11 weeks prepartum



MASCULINE GROUP (N=14)
11 weeks prepartum



Key:



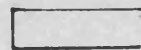
primary
cluster



secondary
cluster

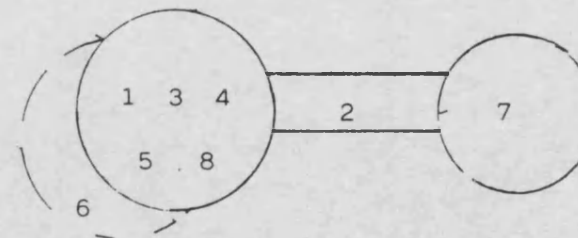


isolate

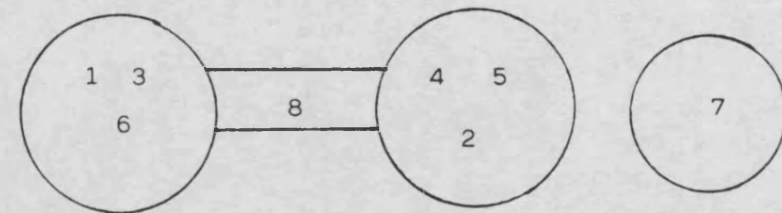


linkage
constructs

FEMININE SEX TYPED GROUP (N=16) 16 weeks postpartum



MASCULINE GROUP (N=14) 16 weeks postpartum



Constructs:

- 1 loyal-disloyal
- 2 dominant-submissive
- 3 understanding-not understanding
- 4 aggressive-not aggressive

- 5 Gentle-not gentle
- 6 masculine-feminine
- 7 willing to take risks-not willing to take risks
- 8 warm-cold

poles of the feminine constructs (warm, gentle, understanding, loyal) were correlated together, along with the contrastive poles of the masculine constructs (feminine, not aggressive). Similarly the positive poles of the masculine constructs (masculine, aggressive) were correlated together along with the contrastive poles of the feminine constructs (not understanding, cold, rough, disloyal). The construct masculine-feminine was the superordinate construct (accounting for the most intercorrelations) suggesting that this was the organizing dimension within the primary cluster.

At sixteen weeks postpartum, the primary cluster became slightly more differentiated, the only change being that the masculine-feminine construct became a secondary construct in relation to the primary cluster, and 'not aggressive-aggressive' became the superordinate construct within the primary cluster. As at eleven weeks prepartum, the poles of the constructs were similarly clustered into 'feminine' and 'masculine' groups.

On both pre and postpartum occasions the % variation accounted for by the first principle component was relatively high, 82.4% at eleven weeks prepartum and 81.2% at sixteen weeks postpartum, indicating a relatively tight network of construing with low cognitive complexity. This accords with the one dimensional structure of the construct system revealed by the Makhoul-Norris technique.

The masculine (non sex typed) group (N=14)

The most articulated and cognitively complex system was found for the masculine group, particularly at sixteen weeks postpartum.

As Table 27 shows, at eleven weeks postpartum the construct system was more differentiated when compared with the feminine sex typed

group, being composed of a primary cluster, containing the superordinate construct warm-cold, a secondary cluster and two isolates (dominant-submissive; willing to take risks - not willing to take risks). Within the primary and secondary clusters, as with the feminine sex typed group, the poles of the constructs were intercorrelated into 'feminine' and 'masculine' groups. The primary cluster consisted of the feminine constructs, loyal, feminine, not aggressive, and the masculine group, cold, disloyal, masculine and aggressive. The secondary cluster consisted of the feminine constructs, understanding and gentle, and the masculine constructs, not understanding and rough. Thus there was in no case the correlation of the positive pole of a feminine construct with the positive pole of a masculine construct (i.e. warm-aggressive). At sixteen weeks postpartum, the construct warm-cold remained superordinate, but it became a linkage construct, linking two equally balanced primary clusters, one containing the constructs loyal-disloyal, understanding-not understanding, feminine-masculine, and suggestive of an empathic/non empathic dimension, and the other composed of the constructs aggressive-not aggressive, dominant-submissive, gentle-rough, and suggestive of an active/passive dimension. Again, in each of these clusters the poles of the constructs were correlated into 'feminine' and 'masculine' groups.

It is suggested that the articulation of the construct system for the masculine group at sixteen weeks postpartum revealed a complex schema, since the construct system was two rather than one dimensional; although the system is differentiated, it is also integrated, representing an organized rather than diffuse network of relationships.

The % variation accounted for by the first principle component suggested a relatively higher level of cognitive complexity. At eleven weeks prepartum the first principle component accounted for 70% of the total variation, and at sixteen weeks postpartum, it accounted for 68%.

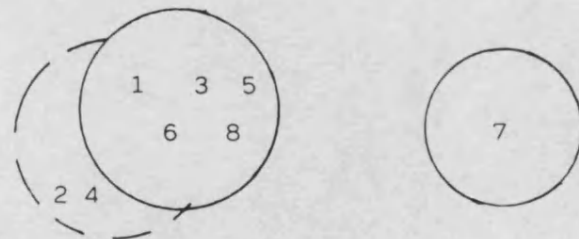
For both the androgynous and undifferentiated groups the organization of the construct system reflected less integrated structures than either the feminine sex typed or masculine groups.

For the androgynous group (non sex typed)(N=13). As Table 28 shows, at eleven weeks prepartum, the construct system for the androgynous group had one primary cluster, a secondary cluster and an isolate. Within the primary cluster, the poles of the constructs were again intercorrelated into 'feminine' and 'masculine' groups of gentle, loyal, warm, understanding and feminine, in contrast to rough, disloyal, not understanding, masculine and cold. The superordinate construct was gentle-rough. The secondary cluster contained the constructs aggressive-not aggressive and dominant-submissive, with willing to take risks-not willing to take risks as an isolate.

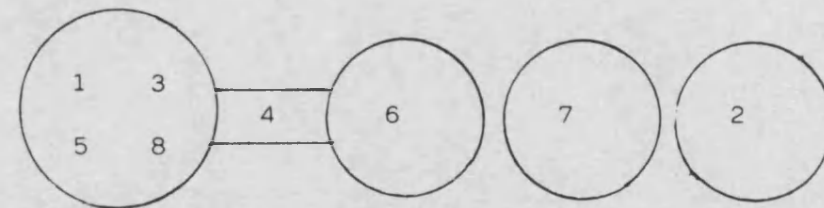
At sixteen weeks postpartum, unlike the masculine group, the construct system became more differentiated, but less integrated, consisting of one primary cluster containing the constructs warm-cold, which was superordinate, gentle-rough, loyal-disloyal and understanding-not understanding; this cluster was linked by the construct aggressive-not aggressive to the construct feminine-masculine. There were two isolates, dominant-submissive and willing

Table 28. The articulation of feminine-masculine constructs (using the Makhoulouf-Norris method) for androgynous and undifferentiated BSRI groups(as defined by median split technique) on pre- and postpartum occasions.

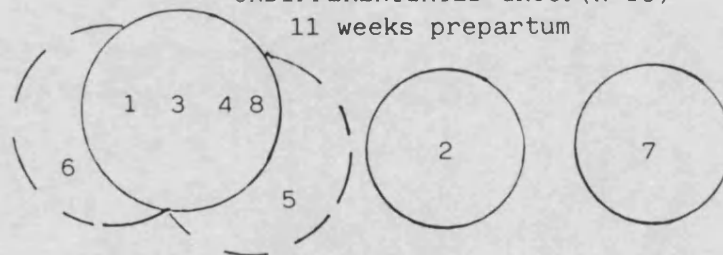
ANDROGYNOUS GROUP (N = 13) 11 weeks prepartum



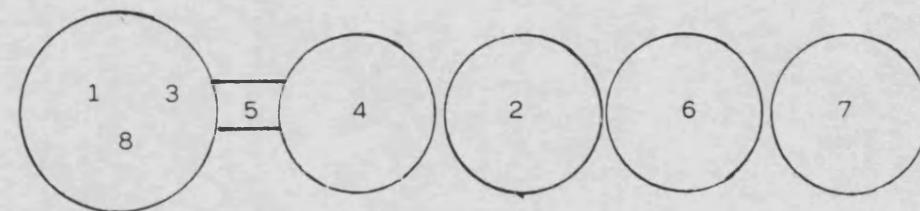
ANDROGYNOUS GROUP (N=13) 16 weeks postpartum



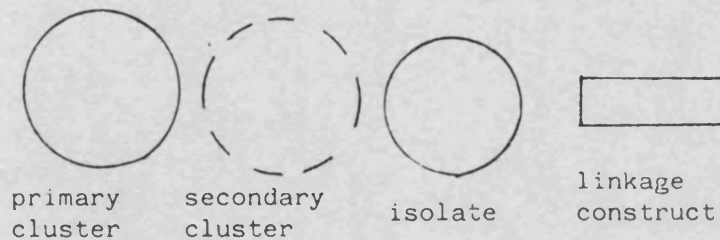
UNDIFFERENTIATED GROUP (N=10)
11 weeks prepartum



UNDIFFERENTIATED GROUP (N=10) 16 weeks postpartum



Key:



Constructs

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1 loyal-disloyal | 5 gentle-rough |
| 2 dominant-submissive | 6 masculine-feminine |
| 3 understanding-not understanding | 7 willing to take risks-not willing to take risks |
| 4 aggressive-not aggressive | 8 warm-cold |

to take risks-not willing to take risks. The percentage variation accounted for by the first principle component was suggestive of a movement from lower to higher complexity pre to postpartum, accounting for 75% of the total variation at eleven weeks prepartum and 69% at sixteen weeks postpartum.

The undifferentiated group (non sex typed) (N=10)

The construct system of the undifferentiated group was the least integrated, particularly at sixteen weeks postpartum.

As Table 28 shows, at eleven weeks prepartum, the construct system consisted of a primary cluster, a secondary cluster and two isolates. The poles of constructs within the primary cluster were correlated into the feminine and masculine groups of warm, not aggressive, understanding, loyal in contrast to aggressive, cold, not understanding and disloyal; the superordinate construct was warm-cold. The secondary cluster consisted of the constructs feminine-masculine and gentle-rough, and the isolates were dominant-submissive, willing to take risks-not willing to take risks.

At sixteen weeks postpartum there was a small primary cluster consisting of three constructs loyal-disloyal, understanding-not understanding and warm-cold, linked by the construct gentle-rough to the construct aggressive-not aggressive. None of the constructs in the primary cluster was superordinate, that is they all accounted for the same degree of intercorrelation. In addition, there were four isolates; dominant-submissive, masculine-feminine, not aggressive-aggressive and willing to take risks-not willing to take risks.

The percentage variation accounted for by the first principle component suggested relatively high complexity, accounting for 70% of the total variation at eleven weeks prepartum and 49% at sixteen weeks postpartum. This figure of 49% would at first suggest a high level of cognitive complexity for the gender schema of the undifferentiated group, at sixteen weeks postpartum. However, as Table 28 shows, the system is highly differentiated, but with a low level of integration, which would lead to the conclusion that the % variation of the first principle component in this case, indicates a diffuse and less integrated gender schema, rather than a highly complex (and integrated) one.

Summary

For the feminine sex typed group Hypotheses Vi and Vii were confirmed in essence by this analysis; the organization of the gender schema at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum revealed a highly correlated and one dimensional system, as characterized by one primary cluster with the poles of the constructs being intercorrelated into feminine constructs and masculine constructs; on both occasions the structure of the system represented a relatively low complexity with a tight and highly integrated network. The construct system, however, against prediction, became slightly more differentiated as a result of the experience of motherhood, rather than more polarized (and thus less differentiated) as was suggested in Hypothesis Vii.

Hypotheses VIIi and VIIii were confirmed in essence for the masculine group (high masculine/low feminine), but not for the androgynous group (high masculine/high feminine).

The masculine group, particularly at sixteen weeks postpartum,

represented the most sophisticated pattern of construing. The construct system reflected a division into two separate primary clusters or dimensions, identified as empathic/unempathic and active/passive, which were linked by the superordinate construct warm-cold. The system represented a comparatively high level of complexity with integrated dimensions. The change from pre to postpartum indicated a greater differentiation of the gender schema as a result of the experience of motherhood. However, against prediction, the constructs within the primary clusters were polarized into masculine and feminine groups with no intercorrelation between feminine and masculine poles of constructs, suggesting that the system was organized on the basis of gender distinctions.

The androgynous and undifferentiated groups were characterized by comparatively less integration in their patterns of construing, particularly at sixteen weeks postpartum, when construct systems became more differentiated, but less highly integrated. For the androgynous group the organization of the construct system was most similar to the masculine group, reflecting a comparatively high complexity, but distinct from the masculine group, in remaining essentially one rather than two dimensional.

In contrast for the undifferentiated group, at sixteen weeks postpartum, the variation accounted for by the first principle component (49%), suggested that it represented the greatest cognitive complexity of all the groups, but the structure of the construct system, showed a low level of integration suggesting a diffuse rather than highly complex system.

Discussion

These results confirm the assumption derived from Gender Schema Theory (Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983) that variations in gender identity reflect differences in organization of the gender schema. The schema of the feminine sex typed group illustrated a stereotyped view of the world, as characterized by Fransella (1977) as consisting of a subsystem of constructs organized around a single dimension, which is divided into mutually exclusive categories (feminine/masculine), and which is relatively low in complexity, and changes little as the result of experience.

It was assumed from Bem's (1974) original supposition about the greater flexibility of an androgynous gender identity, reflecting a balance of masculinity and femininity, that androgynous women would exhibit a propositional and complex gender schema, characterized by greater change over time (Bannister and Fransella, 1971; Fransella, 1977) and multidimensional rather than unidimensional organization. However, it was the masculine group (high masculine/low feminine) which exhibited these characteristics in the organization of their gender schema most clearly, suggesting that it is levels of masculinity in a woman's gender identity which gives rise to a more complex and propositional gender schema, rather than the balance of femininity and masculinity.

It is interesting to note that the distinction between androgynous (high feminine/high masculine) and undifferentiated groups (low feminine/low masculine) as suggested by Spence and Helmreich (1979b) is lent some substance by looking at the differences in the organization of the gender schema for these two

groups. The undifferentiated group, in comparison with the androgynous group, particularly at sixteen weeks postpartum, showed the least integrated gender schema, suggestive of a loose or diffuse organization of gender identity, which would be conducive to Spence and Helmreich's (ibid) conclusion that gender identity was relatively underdeveloped for these women.

These results are further illuminated by looking at the way in which variations in gender identity are reflected in the usage of feminine and masculine constructs for self description, which is discussed in the following section.

(b) Patterns of Identification and Relationships between Constructs and Elements Characterizing Feminine Sex Typed and Non Sex Typed Groups of Women

The predictions relevant to this section were as follows:

Hypothesis Viii: For the feminine sex typed group, in the anticipation of motherhood, self will be identified with ideal self and mother figures (your mother, good mother), feminine constructs only will be used in description of self, 'ideal self', 'your mother' and a 'good mother' (from Fransella, 1977; Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983). Identification of self with other elements is measured by distance of self from other elements on the repertory grid; construing of elements can be observed from the relationship between constructs and elements on a two component graph, from the repertory grid analysis. The emphasis on femininity in self description, because of its assumed adaptiveness to the experience of motherhood, will change little as a result of the experience of motherhood itself (from Abrahams, Feldman and Nash, 1978; Baumrind, 1982).

Hypothesis VIiii: For androgynous women, in the anticipation of motherhood, self will be identified with work orientated figures (from Jones, Chernovitz and Hansson, 1978; Silvern and Ryan, 1979) as measured by distance of self from other elements on the repertory grid, and both feminine and masculine constructs will be used in self description (from Fransella, 1977; Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983). The construing of elements can be observed from the relationship between constructs and elements on a two component graph, from the repertory grid analysis.

For the androgynous group, as a result of the experience of motherhood, self will be identified more closely with mother figures, feminine constructs only being applied in self description (Bem, 1974; Feldman, Biringen and Nash, 1981; Lewis, 1983).

To look at differences in identification arising from variations in gender identity, the distance of other elements from the element 'yourself' from the Ingrid analysis, were compared for each BSRI group, pre and postpartum.

In order to investigate the way in which particular elements were construed by each BSRI group, for each group Principle Components graphs were constructed from the Ingrid analyses, at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum. In order to interpret the construct-element relationships revealed by these two component graphs, the tables of 'Relationships between Constructs and Elements' were used; it was considered that an intercorrelation between construct and element that exceeded the 1% level of significance was indicative of the construct description that was most salient for a particular element.

Results

(i) Patterns of Identification for the BSRI groups (Table 29).

Table 29 shows that:

- a) The feminine sex typed group perceived themselves prepartum as most similar to 'a good mother' and 'as you would like to be'; this remained the case postpartum, the experience of motherhood confirming rather than disconfirming these perceptions.
- b) Both masculine and androgynous women perceived themselves as being most similar to a 'successful woman' prepartum and for the masculine group this was confirmed rather than disconfirmed by motherhood; the androgynous group did not see themselves as close to a 'successful woman' postpartum.
- c) The undifferentiated group perceived themselves to be most similar to their ideal selves prepartum and to 'a successful woman' postpartum.
- d) The element 'your mother' was construed as being distant from 'yourself' by feminine, masculine, androgynous and undifferentiated groups postpartum, though for the feminine and androgynous groups this was not the case at eleven weeks prepartum.

(ii) The Relationship between Constructs and Elements for the BSRI groups.

For each BSRI group a two component graph has been constructed from the Ingrid analysis derived from the Series program, at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum. In addition Tables 30-33 show construct-element relationships which exceeded the 1% level of significance, for the BSRI groups on both occasions.

The relationships displayed on the Principle Components graphs are described in relation to the construct dimensions identified

Table 29. The distance of other elements from the element 'yourself' from the Ingrid analysis for each BSRI group at eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

ELEMENTS	BSRI groups							
	Fem(n=16)		Masc.(n=14)		Androgy(n=13)		Undiff.(n=10)	
	pre-partum	post-partum	pre-partum	post-partum	pre-partum	post-partum	pre-partum	post-partum
A successful woman	.71	.79	.31*	.40*	.39*	.50	.42	.37*
A good mother	.38*	.34*	.66	.98	.49	.65	.52	.47
A career orientated woman	.58	.62	.44	.47	.66	.58	.56	.46
A close friend	1.19•	1.13•	.81	.44	.96	.79	1.04•	.75
As you would like to be	.38*	.34*	.56	.55	.63	.72	.39*	.88
Your mother	.89	1.02•	1.07•	1.00	.89	1.06•	1.03•	1.15•
Not a good mother	.73	.56	1.00	.91	.97	.82	.87	.71

Note: * indicates 'unusual' closeness (distance < 0.4)

• indicates 'distant from' (>1)

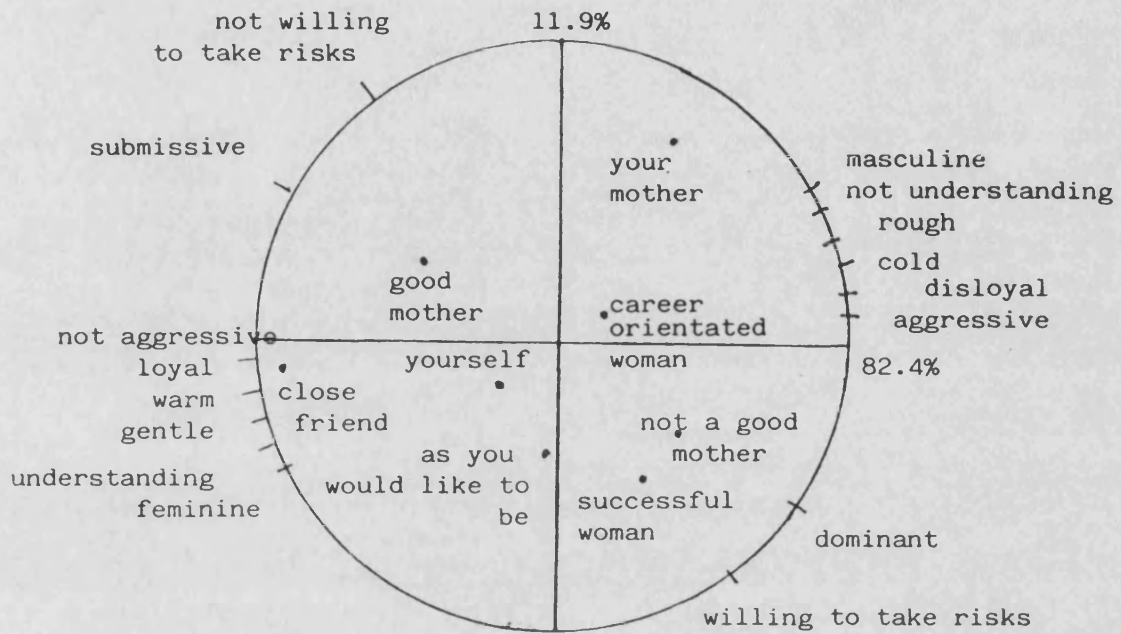
earlier by the Makhlouf-Norris method. Usage of the construct dimensions for this descriptive purpose enabled a more precise interpretation of the usage of constructs in element description than would have been gained from attempting to interpret the meaning of the Principle Components.

Results

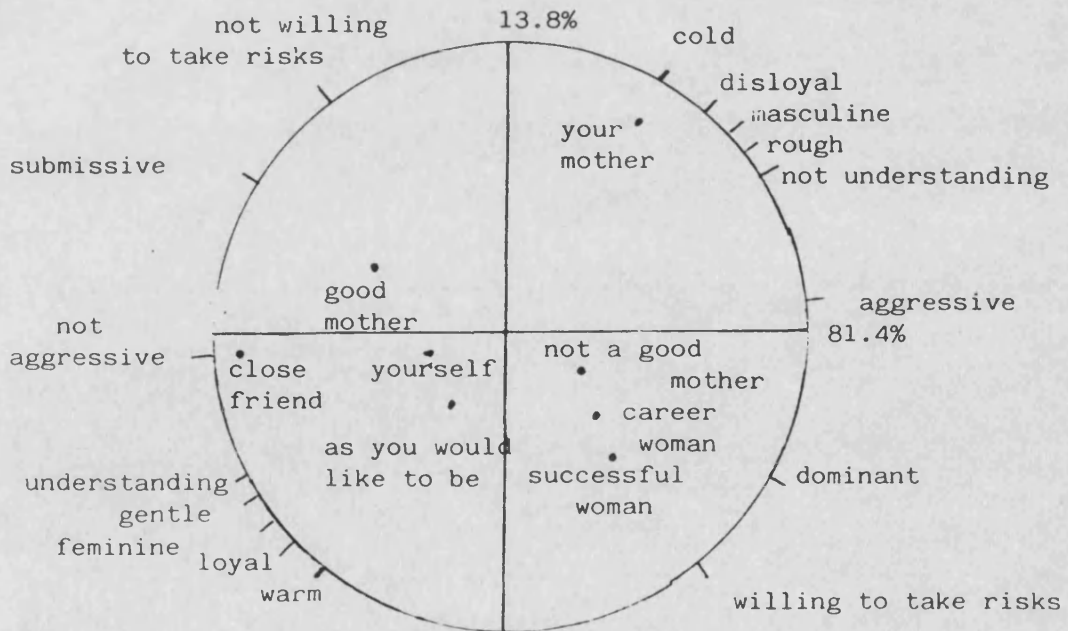
For the feminine sex typed group: (Fig. 6 and Table 30). At eleven weeks prepartum all the constructs within the primary cluster, including the superordinate constructs, as defined earlier (p. 295) were used to compare and contrast the elements 'yourself' and 'a close friend' with 'your mother'; the former elements were described using the 'feminine' poles of these constructs and the latter the contrastive or 'masculine' poles. This suggests that it is these three elements that were central in defining femininity-masculinity, 'your mother' being seen as comparatively less feminine.

'A successful woman', 'career orientated woman' and 'not a good mother' were identified using 'masculine' poles of constructs, though not as many constructs were salient for these elements at $p < 0.01$, when compared with 'yourself', 'a close friend' and 'your mother'. Also a 'successful woman', 'a career orientated woman' and 'not a good mother' were not exclusively described using constructs in the primary cluster, suggesting they were more peripheral in the definition of gender identity, for the feminine sex typed group.

Fig. 6. Two component graphs to show the relationship between constructs and elements from the femininity grid for the feminine sex-typed group (N=16)



11 weeks prepartum



16 weeks postpartum

Table 30. Significant relationships between constructs and elements
($p < 0.01$) for the feminine sex typed group (N=16), at
eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

ELEMENT	PREPARTUM CONSTRUCTS (11 weeks)	POSTPARTUM CONSTRUCTS (16 weeks)
Yourself	Loyal, understanding not aggressive, warm gentle, feminine	Loyal, understanding not aggressive, gentle, warm, feminine
Successful woman	Dominant, aggressive willing to take risks	Dominant, aggressive willing to take risks
Good mother	Submissive	Submissive, not willing to take risks
Career orientated woman	Not understanding, cold	Dominant, willing to take risks
Close friend	Loyal, submissive understanding, not aggressive, gentle, warm, feminine	Loyal, submissive, understanding, not aggressive, gentle feminine
As you would like to be	-	-
Your mother	Disloyal, not understanding, rough, masculine, cold, aggressive	Disloyal, not understanding, rough, cold
Not a good mother	Disloyal, aggressive rough, willing to take risks	Dominant, aggressive rough, willing to take risks, cold

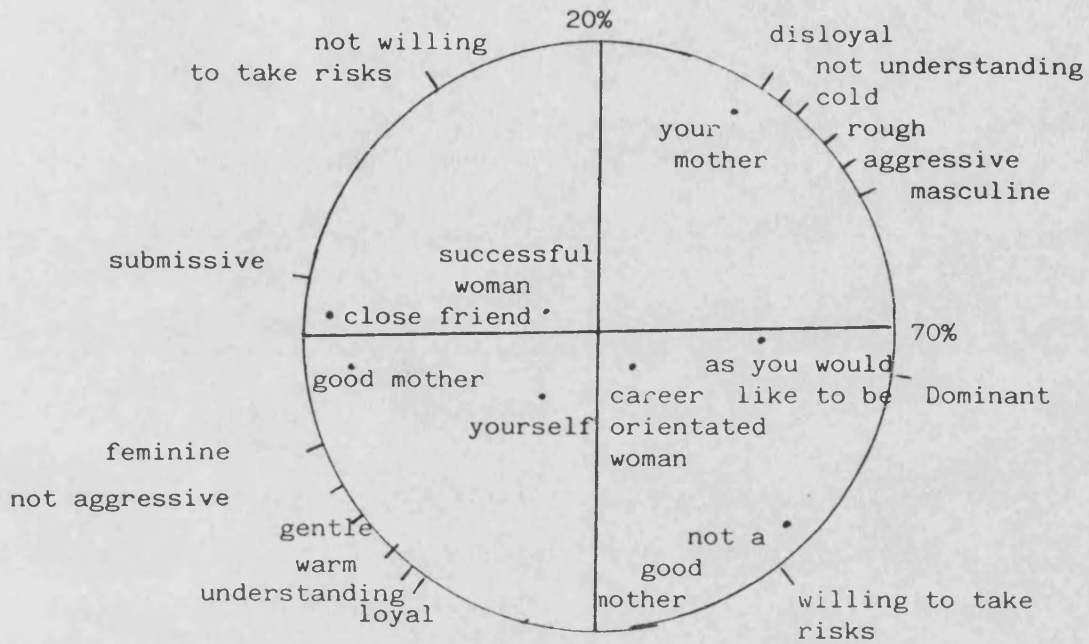
Similarly, 'a good mother' was described using the feminine pole of a construct (submissive), which was not within the primary cluster.

These relationships remained consistent at sixteen weeks postpartum though the construct poles 'masculine' and 'aggressive' were no longer salient for the element 'your mother' at $p < 0.01$, suggesting a decreased association of this element with the masculine dimension.

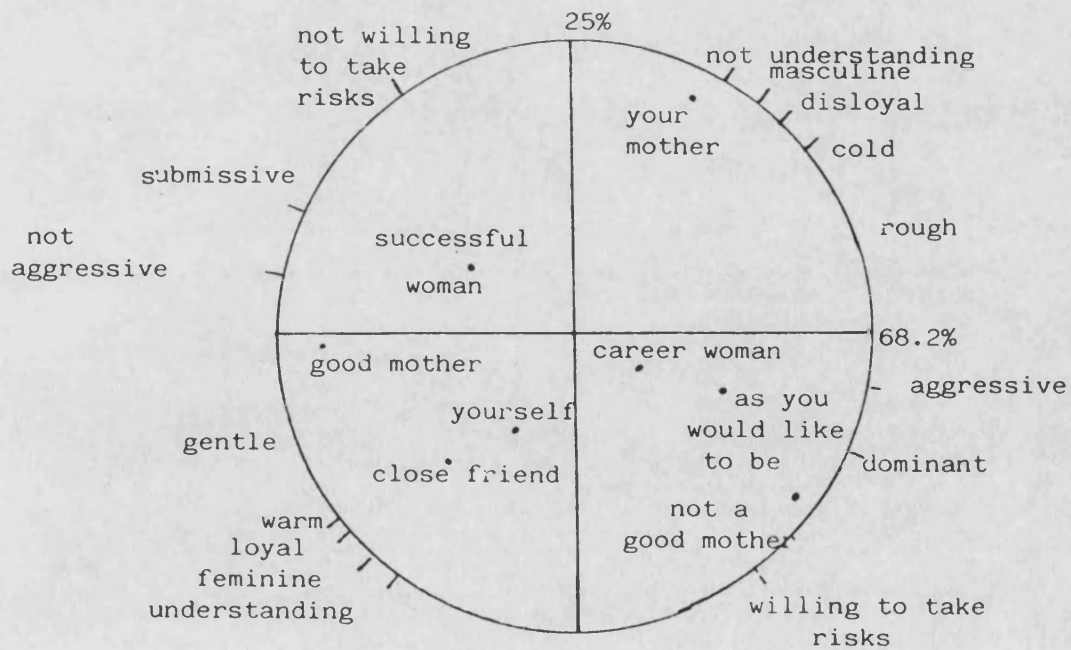
For the masculine group: (Fig. 7 and Table 31). At eleven weeks postpartum the elements 'yourself', 'a close friend', were compared to the element 'your mother' using constructs from the primary cluster, including the superordinate construct 'warm-cold'; however although the former two elements were identified using the feminine poles of these constructs and the latter using the contrastive or 'masculine' poles, in comparison with the feminine sex typed group, there were not as many constructs salient for these elements at $p < 0.01$. The elements 'a good mother' and a 'successful woman' were described using feminine constructs, including the construct 'submissive'; in contrast, the element 'as you would like to be' was described using the construct 'dominant'.

At sixteen weeks postpartum, the salience of particular constructs to elements reflected the division of the construct system into two primary clusters or dimensions. The empathic dimension, including the construct 'feminine-masculine' and the superordinate

Fig. 7. Two component graphs to show the relationship between constructs and elements from the femininity grid for the masculine group (N=14)



11 weeks prepartum



16 weeks postpartum

Table 31. Significant relationships between constructs and elements
($p < 0.01$) for the masculine group (N=14) at
eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum.

ELEMENT	PREPARTUM (11 weeks) CONSTRUCTS	POSTPARTUM (16 weeks) CONSTRUCTS
Yourself	Loyal, understanding warm	Loyal, feminine, understanding, warm
Successful woman	Submissive, not aggressive	Not willing to take risks
Good mother	Submissive, understanding, not aggressive	Submissive, not aggressive, gentle
Career orientated woman	-	-
Close friend	Not aggressive, gentle, feminine, warm	Loyal, understanding not aggressive, gentle feminine, warm
As you would like to be	Dominant	Dominant, rough
Your mother	Disloyal, not understanding, aggressive, rough, cold	Disloyal, not understanding, masculine, cold
Not a good mother	Willing to take risks	Dominant, aggressive, willing to take risks

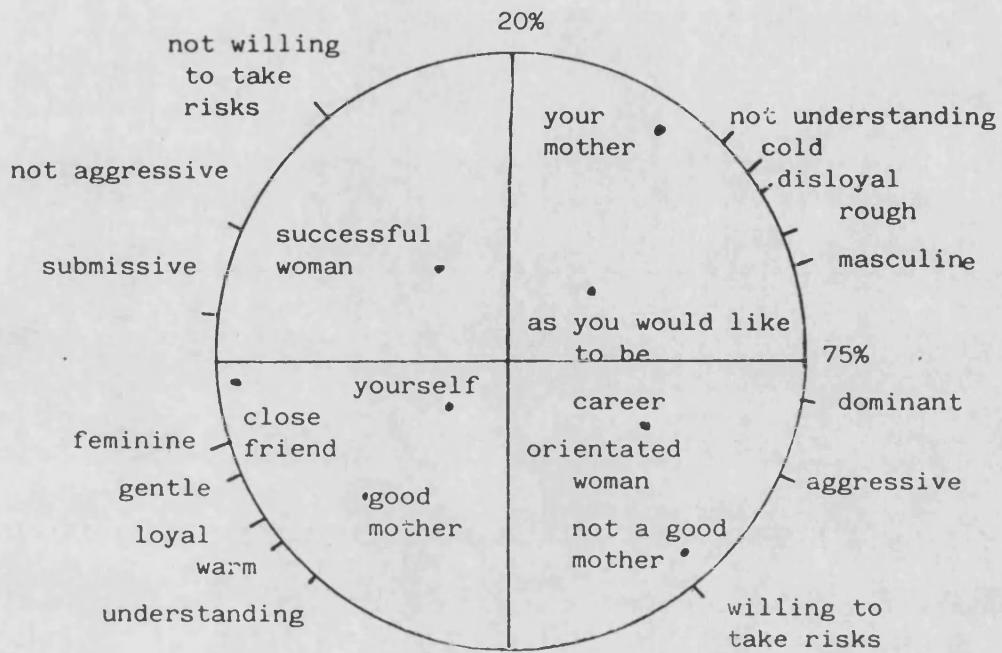
construct 'warm-cold' was used to compare and contrast the elements 'yourself', 'a close friend' and 'your mother' in the way described above, whilst the active/passive dimension was used to compare and contrast 'a good mother', and 'a successful woman' using the 'passive' pole, with 'as you would like to be' and 'not a good mother' using the 'active' pole.

Given these relationships, it is considered that the empathic/unempathic dimension was superordinate, since it included the superordinate construct and was used to differentiate the elements that were more central to the system.

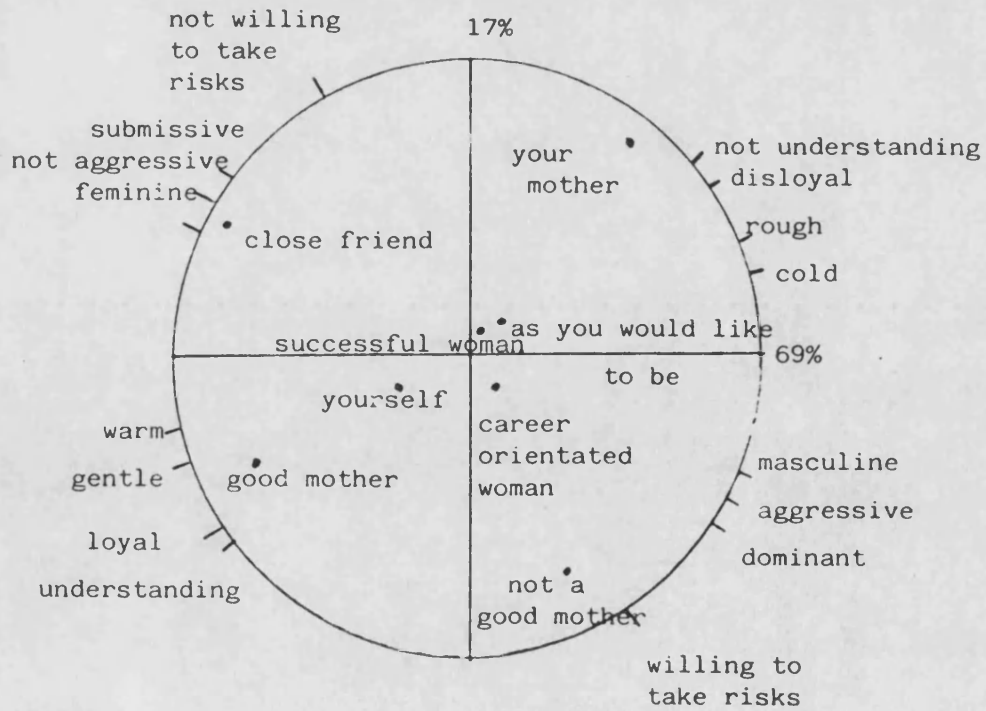
For the androgynous group: (Fig. 8 and Table 32). At eleven weeks postpartum the elements 'yourself', 'a close friend', and 'a good mother' were contrasted with 'your mother' using constructs in the primary cluster, including the superordinate construct gentle-rough, the former elements being described using the feminine poles of these constructs and the latter using the masculine poles. The elements 'as you would like to be', 'a career orientated woman' and 'not a good mother' were also described using the masculine poles of constructs, the latter two elements by use of secondary constructs, and the former by constructs in the primary cluster, though not the superordinate construct.

The same pattern of construing existed for the elements 'yourself', 'a close friend', 'a good mother' and 'your mother' at sixteen weeks postpartum, but the application of masculine poles of constructs to the other elements became more diffuse, reflecting the differentiation of the construct system at this

Fig. 8. Two component graphs, to show the relationship between constructs and elements, from the femininity grid for the androgynous group (N=13)



11 weeks prepartum



16 weeks postpartum

Table 32. Significant relationships between constructs and elements

($p < 0.01$) for the androgynous group (N=13) at eleven

weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum

ELEMENT	PREPARTUM (11 weeks) CONSTRUCTS	POSTPARTUM (16 weeks) CONSTRUCTS
Yourself	Loyal, understanding gentle, feminine, warm	Loyal, understanding gentle, warm
successful woman	-	-
Good mother	Loyal, understanding submissive, gentle, warm	Loyal, understanding, gentle, warm
Career orientated woman	Dominant, aggressive	-
Close friend	Loyal, submissive understanding, not aggressive, gentle, feminine, warm	Not aggressive, gentle, feminine warm
As you would like to be	Not understanding, masculine	Dominant
Your mother	Not understanding, rough, cold	Disloyal, not understanding, rough, cold
Not a good mother	Dominant, aggressive, willing to take risks	Aggressive, willing to take risks

time; these were no longer salient ($p < 0.01$) for the element 'a career orientated woman' and constructs outside the primary cluster were used to describe 'not a good mother' and 'as you would like to be', the most salient construct describing the latter element being 'dominant'.

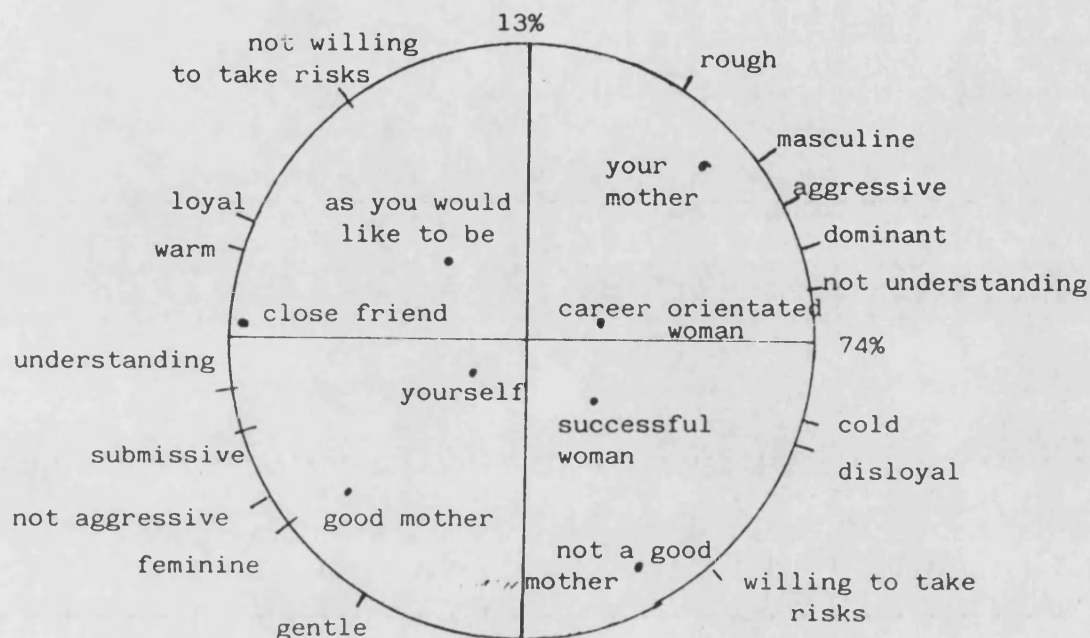
For the undifferentiated group: (Fig. 9 and Table 33). At eleven weeks prepartum the elements 'yourself' and 'a close friend' were contrasted with 'your mother' and 'a career orientated woman' using constructs in the primary cluster, including the superordinate constructs, the feminine poles of the constructs being used to describe the former two elements and the masculine poles the latter. The element 'a good mother' was described using the construct 'submissive' and 'not a good mother', the construct 'not willing to take risks', both these constructs being isolates in the construct system.

At sixteen weeks postpartum, the only elements to have constructs salient to them at $p < 0.01$ were 'yourself', 'a close friend' and 'your mother'; the patterning of construction was much less cohesive, 'a close friend' being the only element described by all three constructs in the primary cluster.

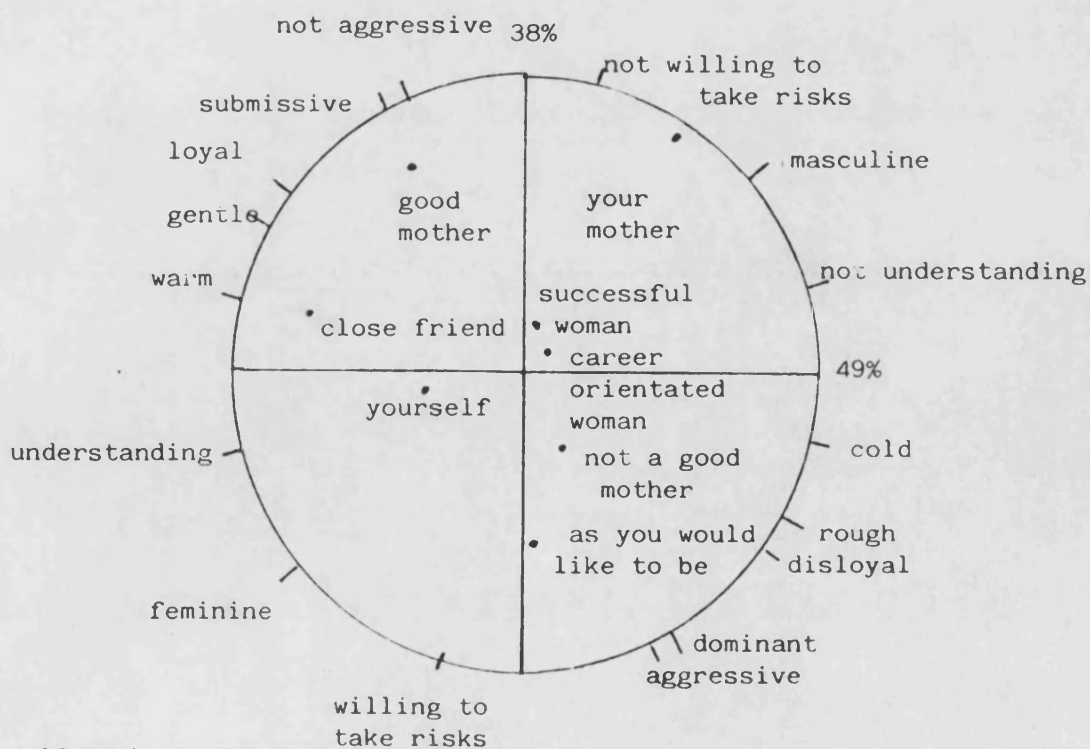
Summary of Results

- (a) Similarities in Identification and Element Description between the BSRI groups, as revealed by Analysis of the Femininity Grids
- 1) All groups perceived the element 'your mother' as being distant from (distance between elements $>$ than 1) rather than similar to (distance between elements $<$ 1) the element 'yourself' at sixteen weeks postpartum.
 - (ii) All groups on both pre and postpartum occasions used constructs in the primary cluster, including the superordinate construct to

Fig. 9. Two component graphs to show the relationship between constructs and elements from the femininity grid for the undifferentiated group (N=10).



11 weeks prepartum



16 weeks postpartum

Table 33. Significant relationships between constructs and elements
($p < 0.01$) for the undifferentiated group (N=10) at eleven
weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum

ELEMENT	PREPARTUM (11 weeks) CONSTRUCTS	POSTPARTUM (16 weeks) CONSTRUCTS
Yoursself	Loyal, understanding, not aggressive, gentle, feminine warm	Loyal, understanding not aggressive, gentle, feminine
Successful woman	-	-
Good mother	Submissive	
Career orientated woman	Disloyal, dominant, cold	
Close friend	Loyal, understanding, not aggressive gentle, feminine warm	Loyal, warm, understanding, not aggressive, gentle
As you would like to be	-	
Your mother	Disloyal, not understanding, aggressive, cold, masculine	Not understanding, masculine, cold
not a good mother	Willing to take risks	

differentiate between 'yourself', 'a close friend', and 'your mother', the former elements being described using the feminine poles of these constructs, which were most saliently applied to 'a close friend', and the latter using the masculine poles of these constructs.

- (iii) The element 'a good mother' was described by all groups pre- and postpartum, using feminine constructs only, though not always those in the primary cluster, the construct most consistently used to describe this element being 'submissive'. Thus it is suggested that this element was more peripheral in the system and that a degree of 'passivity' was one of the features of its construction.
- (iv) The elements 'a career orientated woman' and 'not a good mother' were described using masculine constructs by all the BSRI groups both pre- and postpartum, though constructs were not consistently salient for the former element at the $p < 0.01$ level. Again the constructs salient for these elements were not generally in the primary cluster, reflecting their more peripheral relationship in the definition of gender identity.

(b) Differences in Identification and Element Description between the BSRI Groups as revealed by the Analysis of the Femininity Grids

Differences in identification and construction arose largely in relation to the elements 'as you would like to be', 'a good mother', and 'a successful woman'. For the feminine sex typed group, the elements 'as you would like to be', and 'a good mother' were seen as most similar to the element 'yourself' at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum, though no constructs

were salient ($p < 0.01$) for the former element on either occasion; 'a successful woman' was described using the 'masculine' poles of constructs on both occasions.

For the masculine and androgynous groups 'a successful woman' was the element seen as most similar to 'yourself' at eleven weeks prepartum and this remained the case for the masculine group at sixteen weeks postpartum. In contrast to the feminine sex typed group, the masculine group described a 'successful woman' on both occasions using feminine poles of constructs; for both the masculine and androgynous groups the element 'as you would like to be' was described using the masculine poles of constructs, the construct most consistently used on both occasions being 'dominant'. These elements were contrasted on the active/passive dimension, which was considered for the masculine group to be secondary to the 'empathic' one.

For the undifferentiated group, the elements seen as similar to 'yourself' were 'as you would like to be' at eleven weeks prepartum and 'a successful woman' at sixteen weeks postpartum, though no constructs were salient ($p < 0.01$) for these elements on either occasion.

Discussion

Thus Hypothesis Viii was confirmed in part for the feminine sex typed group. As well as the element 'yourself' being most similar to ideal self and a good mother, this element was described using feminine constructs only at both eleven weeks prepartum and sixteen weeks postpartum. However, self was seen as dissimilar

to 'your mother' on the postpartum occasion and described using masculine or the contrastive poles of feminine constructs rather than feminine constructs only.

Hypothesis VIiii was confirmed only in part; for both masculine and androgynous groups, feminine constructs were used to describe the element 'yourself' and masculine constructs to describe 'ideal self' on both pre and postpartum occasions. The element seen as most similar to 'self' on both occasions was 'a successful woman' who was described using feminine constructs. Thus there was no evidence of a greater identification with a 'career orientated woman' prepartum or with a 'good mother' or 'your mother' postpartum. Similar to the feminine sex typed group, the element 'your mother' was described using the contrastive poles of feminine constructs both pre and postpartum, and seen as dissimilar rather than similar to self, particularly at sixteen weeks postpartum.

What was clear from the results, and not predicted by the hypotheses, was that despite differences in gender identification, as indicated by scores on the BSRI, the construction of gender identity for all groups was organized around a 'core' which involved the description of 'yourself' using the feminine poles of constructs in a primary cluster, including the superordinate construct.

Also central to this 'core' structure, and not predicted by the hypotheses, was the comparison of 'yourself' with 'a close

friend' and 'your mother' using primary cluster constructs; a 'close friend' was described using the feminine poles of these constructs and 'your mother' using the masculine poles. The centrality of these two elements for gender schematization, suggests that feminine gender identity is established in relation to socialization factors (mothers and friends), and remains in essence unchanged by the experience of motherhood.

The perception of 'your mother' as the least feminine of the elements in this structure is not immediately explainable in the context of this research; it may be that in order to establish a sense of their own femininity, and independence, women see themselves as more feminine than their mothers, or deny their mothers' femininity. Although further investigation of this result goes beyond the scope of this study, it does suggest that gender identity for adult women goes beyond an identification with own mother as the prototype of femininity (see Johnson, 1975; 1982).

Thus for all groups, rather than just the feminine sex typed group, as was hypothesized, feminine constructs in a primary or superordinate dimension were used to describe the element 'yourself' on both pre and postpartum occasions.

With regard to the differences between the BSRI groups in the clustering of feminine and masculine constructs, it is concluded from the results that the degree of endorsement of the activity/passivity dimension in self description was the most important

factor in accounting for differences in gender identity, and that this became more apparent as a result of the experience of motherhood.

For all groups, an empathic/unempathic dimension characterized the primary cluster of constructs, and empathic constructs (e.g. loyal, warm, understanding) were used in self description. However, the primary cluster of the feminine sex typed group was also characterized by a passive/active dimension and 'passive' constructs (e.g. gentle, not aggressive) were used in self description. In contrast, for the masculine group, particularly at sixteen weeks postpartum, the empathic/unempathic, and the active/passive dimensions formed two distinct primary clusters, and 'passive' constructs were not used in self description.

Furthermore, for the groups scoring high on masculinity on the BSRI (masculine and androgynous groups), whilst 'yourself' was identified with feminine empathic qualities, 'ideal self' was located on the active as opposed to the passive dimension, suggesting an empathic-active gender identity, rather than the empathic-passive one characteristic of the feminine sex-typed group.

That it is the use of the active-passive dimension that is associated with differences in gender identity in the context of first time motherhood, is also illustrated by Breen's (1975) study. Breen used the Frank Drawing Completion test to look at

differences in endorsement of feminine items between groups defined as 'well adjusted' or 'ill adjusted' to motherhood; she found that women falling into the 'ill adjusted' group endorsed more items suggestive of 'passive containers' and concluded from this that:

"It seems legitimate to question the self image of passivity as representing feminine nature, since it turns out to be maladaptive to childbearing, the most feminine activity. Adjustment to pregnancy and the birth of the child is more likely to be linked to a sense of being in control, of being an active partner, being creative, being a giver, rather than to a sense of being passive, someone who is held, contained, given to." (p. 168).

Although there is no suggestion from the results in this study, that women who endorse greater levels of passivity within their gender identity are any less effective as mothers (see Section c of this chapter, p. 337), the findings do seem to confirm the doubt cast by Breen on the equation of the essence of femininity with passivity. In this study, passivity-activity appeared to be a secondary dimension, and as such was more likely to be used in different ways by the BSRI groups, and also to be subject to greater change pre to postpartum.

Thus, rather than variations in gender identity reflecting the relative importance of the gender schema in self concept, these results suggest that differences in the groups arose from the degree of differentiation of self concept within the gender schema. Thus, for the feminine sex typed group, self was identified closely with ideal self, whereas for the masculine and androgynous groups this was not the case; particularly for the masculine group, 'yourself' was described using the primary

empathic dimension (feminine) and ideal self using the secondary or active dimension (masculine).

Although these results have been developed in relation to the experience of motherhood and have not been validated in relation to any othersituation, it might be supposed that it is the stressing of the active as opposed to the passive dimension, particularly by women in the masculine group that can be linked to better adjustment (see Jones et al., 1978; Silvern and Ryan, 1979) within a society emphasizing the value of agency as opposed to communal qualities, rather than this being an expression of a gender identity organized around masculinity as being primary. It may well be that women who score high on masculinity and low on femininity on the BSRI do so because they endorse only the empathic dimension of femininity in self description.

Whilst high masculinity in gender identity may be associated with better adjustment in agentic society, 'success' for high masculine women, in the context of early motherhood was associated with the possession of communal rather than agentic qualities. For instance, the masculine group identified closely with 'a successful woman' and described this element similarly to 'a good mother', using feminine constructs. In contrast, the feminine sex typed group described 'a successful woman' using masculine constructs, and a 'good mother' using feminine ones. These differences suggest that for the masculine group, success is more situationally defined; within the context of motherhood, it is characterized by those qualities (communal) most associated

with good mothering. for the feminine sex typed group, motherhood as an activity is seen in relation to the broader social context, success being associated with the possession of agentic or masculine qualities, rather than the feminine ones characterizing good mothering.

Finally, before drawing overall conclusions from the findings in Sections a and b, the relationship between variations in gender identity and motherhood outcomes will be considered.

(c) The Relationship Between Variations in Gender Identity and Motherhood Outcomes

The prediction to be tested in this section was as follows:

Hypothesis VII: Women with gender identities high in femininity (feminine sex typed, androgynous) are more likely than those women with gender identities low in femininity (masculine, undifferentiated) to experience more satisfaction with motherhood and more positive feelings towards their babies (Abrahams, Feldman and Nash, 1978; Feldman, Biringen and Nash, 1981; Baumrind, 1982).

In order to look at the predicted relationship between variations in gender identity and motherhood outcomes, results from the BSRI scored by the original Student 't' method were regressed against scores on the Baby Questionnaire I and II as part of the stepwise regression procedure defined earlier (pp. 156-157). The stepwise regression procedure was also used to examine relationships between scores on the BSRI and socio-historical variables.

In addition, scores on the BSRI were associated with 'satisfaction with motherhood' and 'first feelings when the baby was born', by means of the non parametric Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient, since these measures of motherhood outcome were rank, rather than interval scaled.

Results and Discussion

The only significant relationship to emerge from all the analyses outlined above, was between scores on the BSRI and the measure 'first feelings when the baby was born' ($\rho = -0.23$, $df = 51$, $p < 0.05$). This negative correlation went against prediction, suggesting that it was women with higher levels of masculinity rather than femininity who expressed more positive feelings towards their babies.

This finding would tend to lend substance to both Bem's (1978) and Breen's (1975) association of more positive responses in caring for a baby with a level of activity rather than passivity in gender identity. High masculinity in this study was associated with the use of 'active' constructs on an active/passive dimension in self description, and particularly for the masculine group, an empathic-active gender identity. It was thus the combination of empathic feminine qualities (e.g. understanding, warm, etc.) and active masculine qualities (e.g. dominant) which was associated with more positive first feelings for the baby in the postpartum period.

However, this conclusion remains tentative, since variations in gender identity were not consistently associated with feelings about the baby over the postpartum period; there was no relationship between scores on the BSRI and scores on the Baby Questionnaires at either one month or sixteen weeks postpartum.

The lack of relationship between scores on the BSRI and either socio-historical variables or scores on the Attitudes toward Women scale might at first sight seem to suggest that the former measure is not a sensitive indicator of gender identity, that is, of what it means to be 'feminine' or 'masculine' within a social context. The results in the previous section showed that differences in the schematization of gender and its relationship to self concept did arise in relation to the differing levels of femininity and masculinity as identified by the BSRI, but they also showed that the scores in themselves did not reflect the primacy of a feminine (empathic) gender identity in the self concept of women, or the differentiation of the two dimensions of empathic-unempathic, passive-active for those women high in masculinity.

It is therefore concluded that although the BSRI is a useful measure in the identification of differing endorsement of feminine and masculine characteristics, it is not so useful, as Baumrind (1982) has suggested, in accounting for the behavioural implications of this endorsement in a particular social context, since the scores alone do not reflect accurately the complexity of gender schematization. In retrospect, it might have been more useful to use results from the femininity grids in relation to sociohistorical variables,

as for the motherhood grids, to provide a more complete picture of the relationship between gender schematization and antecedent social factors, in the context of first time motherhood.

PART II: SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The findings in Part II of this study confirmed the association of variations in gender identity with differential structuring of the gender schema (Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983) in the context of the anticipation and experience of first time motherhood. The Bem Sex Role Inventory was used to identify variations in gender identity, and a femininity grid examined the implications of these variations for the organization of feminine and masculine constructs in the gender schema, and their use in self description.

It was found that the gender schema of feminine sex typed women was organized around one major dimension; this was characterized by intercorrelated feminine constructs at one pole, and intercorrelated masculine constructs at the other. This gender schema was relatively low in cognitive complexity. These characteristics were considered to represent a relatively stereotyped view of gender, which changed little as a result of the experience of motherhood. This lent substance to the view that such a preemptive (or stereotyped) system of construing is associated with unvarying prediction (Bannister and Fransella, 1971) and also that the experience of motherhood did not give rise to the necessity of a reorganization of the gender schema.

For non sex typed women, (masculine, androgynous, undifferentiated) it was the masculine group (low feminine, high masculine) rather than the androgynous group (high feminine, high masculine) whose gender schema was most sophisticated, becoming differentiated

into two linked dimensions identified as empathic/unempathic and active/passive, as a result of the experience of motherhood. This schema was relatively high in cognitive complexity.

In addition, for all the non sex typed groups the gender schema became more differentiated as a result of the experience of motherhood, confirming the view that these more propositional (less stereotyped) systems were more subject to change and that the experience of motherhood provoked some reorganization of the gender schema.

However, there was no evidence to suggest gender aschematization (Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983), that is the categorization of constructs by means unrelated to gender, for these groups. For all non sex typed groups, the poles of the constructs were intercorrelated into 'feminine' and 'masculine' clusters, suggesting that gender distinctions were being used as the basis of organization. The difference in the BSRI groups in the use of feminine and masculine constructs arose from application of the secondary or subordinate dimension of activity/passivity to ideal self; whilst all the BSRI groups endorsed a primary empathic dimension in self description, the feminine sex typed women also used the passive dimension in self description, thus being characterized by an empathic/passive gender identity. Masculine women, as well as excluding the passive component in description of the element 'yourself', used active rather than passive constructs in description of 'ideal self', particularly at sixteen weeks postpartum, giving rise to an empathic-active gender identity. It was also found that women with high levels of masculinity (masculine, androgynous), that is those

endorsing in empathic/active gender identity, expressed more positive first feelings towards their babies at one month post-partum, lending substance to Bem's (1978), Breen's (1975) and Oakley's (1980) association of a level of 'activity' in gender identity with more positive motherhood outcomes.

Overall, these findings would tend to suggest the superordinacy of femininity (empathy) in the gender identity of women becoming mothers for the first time. Furthermore, it was felt that variations in gender identity, as well as being associated with differences in the organization of the gender schema, reflected a differentiation of the self concept (self/ideal self) by gender schematization, rather than the relative degree of importance (i.e. the centrality) of the gender schema for self concept (Bem, 1979; 1981; 1983).

CHAPTER VIII. CONCLUSIONS

I. Social Identity in the Transition to Motherhood

Part One of this study used the theoretical framework of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978; 1979; 1981) to investigate social identity, as an aspect of a woman's self concept, in the transition to motherhood. Social Identity Theory is one of the only theories within sociocognitive psychology that attempts to systematically explain and develop the concept of a social identity, that is, the way in which individuals categorize themselves as members of particular social groups, and compare themselves with others, in terms of group membership.

The approach taken in this study marked a departure from previous studies which use this theoretical framework to examine the social identity of women (e.g. Williams and Giles, 1978; Breakwell, 1979; Condor, 1983, 1984). These studies assume that women constitute a homogenous social group, and that their social identity arises from sex group identification, that is, what it means to be a member of the social group 'women' in comparison with the social group 'men'. Thus they fail to take account of the effect of more specific group memberships (i.e. being a mother, being a working woman etc.) in determining the nature of social identity. It was argued in this study that mothers should be regarded as a distinct social group, and that social identity as a mother derives from conceptualization of self as a member of this group,

when compared with other groups of women. Analysis of patterns of construing from the motherhood grids for the sample as a whole (N=53) lend support to this assumption. In late pregnancy and early motherhood women perceived themselves as similar to their own mothers, a good mother, and a close friend (ingroup) but as dissimilar from a career orientated woman (outgroup). Self and other ingroup members were described using constructs on the positive pole of a maternal dimension (e.g. patient, calm, contented, unselfish, cares for children etc.); outgroup was described using constructs on the contrastive pole of this dimension (e.g. impatient, quicktempered, selfish, does not care for children, etc.).

The finding generally demonstrates that social identity for women can be meaningfully defined in relation to specific group memberships. An interesting comparative study would be to explore the social identity of women who have chosen to focus on a career, and their conceptions of themselves as group members, when compared with mothers.

This study also sought to understand why some mothers derived a more positive social identity from identification with their group, than others. Using the premises of Social Identity Theory, it would be assumed that the degree of positivity of social identity as a mother would be primarily associated with the extent to which mothers were perceived as a high status group (more positive social identity) or a low status group (less positive

social identity) when compared with other groups of women. However Condor (1983), in looking at the social identity of women when compared with men, found that the relative status of the ingroup was not necessarily of importance in explaining the positivity of social identity. For instance, women with traditional attitudes towards the role of men and women in society identified closely with their group and derived a positive social identity from group membership; they did not use status dimensions to compare themselves with men, but rather "in comparing the sexes, traditional women tended to emphasize the positive aspects of the feminine role, stressing in particular the valued aspects of motherhood and chivalry" (Condor and Abrams, 1984; p. 8). Similarly, the results in this study showed that for women becoming mothers for the first time, status was not a salient dimension in differentiating mothers as an ingroup from working women as outgroup; of the elicited constructs used to compare self with others on the motherhood grids, those falling into the Landfield (1971) category of high/low status accounted for only 5% of the total number of constructs used. In contrast, the maternal dimension (emphasizing the qualitative aspects of the mothering role), accounted for 40% of the total number of constructs used, and the social dimension (emphasizing the social aspects of the mothering role) accounted for 23% of the total number of constructs used. It was these two dimensions that were most frequently used to describe self and other ingroup members, and to differentiate ingroup from outgroup.

So it is concluded from these findings that the relative status of mothers as a social group was not an important factor in explaining the positivity of social identity, for women becoming mothers for the first time. This concurs with Condor's more general conclusion that for some women, the relative status of ingroup is not necessarily predictive of the positivity of social identity derived from ingroup membership, and indicates that, while mothers may be ideologically defined as a low status group, this is not internalized when they characterize themselves as ingroup members. Thus, the assumption that perceived status of ingroup is the major factor which accounts for variations in the positivity of social identity, appears overly limited in its ability to provide an explanation of the influence of the social context in determining the nature of social identity.

In identifying other factors that might account for the differences in the construing of social identity as a mother, it was argued in this study that the extent to which social identity is construed as positive could be best understood in relation to antecedent social factors (e.g. previous work experience, age, educational level, etc.) and choice of group membership (e.g. the planning decision). Firstly, results in Part One of this study confirmed that antecedent social factors did account for variations in the positivity of social identity as a mother.

Women who were relatively younger and had worked for fewer years, had a more positive social identity as mothers, as indicated by close identification with ingroup members (your mother, good mother, close friend) and the use of constructs on the positive pole of the maternal dimension (e.g. patient, calm, unselfish, caring) to describe self and other ingroup members. These women were also less highly educated, had more traditional attitudes towards the role of women, anticipated returning to work comparatively sooner (children of primary school age; 5-11) and expressed more satisfaction with motherhood.

Women who were relatively older and had worked for longer, had a less positive social identity as mothers, as indicated by a less close identification with ingroup members, which was accompanied by description of self and other ingroup members using constructs on the active pole of the social dimension (e.g. sociable, friendly, outgoing, interests centred outside the home, etc.).

These women were also more highly educated, had more liberal/radical attitudes towards the role of women in society, anticipated returning to work comparatively later (children secondary school age; 11+) and expressed less satisfaction with motherhood.

These findings have implications for those studies of first time motherhood which see a less positive self image as a mother as arising from a loss of personal identity in the transition from

work to motherhood. This approach, most prevalent in the work of Oakley (1980), is reflective of a feminist ideology, which portrays work as self enhancing, in both personal and status terms, when compared with motherhood. For instance, working brings financial independence, promotes emotional and intellectual development, and provides opportunities for self expression and independence of spirit; motherhood brings dependence, social isolation and loss of identity and status. Oakley (ibid) suggests that for women with higher occupational and occupational status, and a more liberal feminine role orientation, low self image as a mother, and less satisfaction with motherhood, are associated with a greater career orientation, and a desire to combine work with motherhood. This would be in keeping with the premise of Social Identity Theory, that a less positive identification with a particular social group (mothers) leads to strategies to restore positive distinctiveness; one of these is to aspire to membership of another social group (working women) which is perceived to be of higher status.

However, as has been mentioned previously, results showed that women in this study did not perceive the differences between 'mothers' as an ingroup, and 'career orientated woman' as outgroup, in terms of status. Furthermore, women with a less positive social identity as mothers, and expressing less satisfaction with motherhood (who were somewhat older and had worked for longer) did not appear to be career orientated, or to have any desire to be working in the early years of motherhood. This was evidenced by the fact that they saw themselves as dissimilar to a career

orientated woman, who was described using constructs such as impatient, quicktempered, selfish and uncaring, qualities not generally considered to be self enhancing. Also, they anticipated returning to work when their children reached adolescence, or not at all, expressing a dissatisfaction with work and a desire to be doing other things. Rather, a less positive social identity as a mother was related to an emphasis on the social aspects of the mothering role; constructs such as sociable, friendly, interests centred outside the home etc., were used to describe self and other ingroup members. Use of these constructs demonstrated the importance of an active social life for these mothers in construing their group membership. Interview material indicated that this may not have been immediately available to them in early motherhood, due to disruption of friendship made at work, and lack of close contact with family and friends outside work.

Thus, for women who were somewhat older and had worked for longer, a less positive social identity and less satisfaction with motherhood arose in relation to the social aspects of the mothering role, rather than career orientation, or a desire to return to work in early motherhood.

At a more theoretical level, the findings outlined above demonstrate the importance of antecedent social factors (i.e. womens' social experience prior to motherhood) in explaining differences in the extent of identification with mothers as a social group and the degree to which group membership is positively valued.

Looking now at the relationship between choice of group membership and the degree of positivity of social identity as a mother, it was found that women who had planned their babies had a more positive social identity as mothers. These women were also more likely to have had jobs higher in the occupational scale prior to motherhood, and expressed more positive feelings about their

babies in the postpartum period. Women with unplanned pregnancies had a less positive social identity as mothers; these women were also more likely to have jobs lower in the occupational scale prior to motherhood, and expressed less positive feelings towards their babies in the postpartum period.

The difference in patterns of identification and construction associated with the positivity of social identity, when compared with those for age, and number of years worked, was that women with unplanned pregnancies, as well as identifying less closely with other ingroup members, and describing self and ingroup using constructs on the active pole of the social dimension, also saw themselves as similar to a 'career orientated woman' (outgroup). It may be that for women who had not made an active choice to become pregnant, and would have preferred to have a baby later on in their lives, a less positive social identity, and less positive feelings towards the baby, derived from some ambivalence about being mothers, when comparing motherhood with their previous experience as working women. Use of constructs such as sociable, friendly, outgoing, etc. to describe self and other ingroup members would suggest that it was a desire for the level of social contact experienced at work that underpinned this ambivalence.

These findings would tend to confirm the conclusions reached by Zajicek (1981) in her investigation of womens' experience of the transition to motherhood. She found that women with unplanned

pregnancies had lower self esteem and a less satisfying experience of pregnancy and early motherhood, when compared with women who had made an active choice to become pregnant. Zajicek concluded from these findings that "if a woman values her past life and finds herself in the position of having to give it up, not because she chooses to but because pregnancy "just happened", then she may have difficulties in coming to terms with a new identity and any new role tasks" (p. 54).

More broadly, the findings of this study illustrate the importance of considering choice as a variable influencing the degree of positivity of social identity derived from group membership.

Finally, it was assumed in this study that some re-evaluation of social identity as a mother would occur from late pregnancy to early motherhood. Using the framework of Social Identity Theory, it was predicted that the experience of early motherhood would lead to changes in both the extent to which women identified with, and construed themselves as similar to the ingroup 'mothers', and also the extent to which they perceived this group as different from outgroup. However, for the sample as a whole, analysis of data from the motherhood grids revealed little change in patterns of identification and construction underlying social identity as a mother, from late pregnancy to early motherhood. Furthermore, rather than provoking a re-evaluation of social identity, the experience of motherhood appeared to be interpreted in the light of a pre existing social identity, which was in evidence in late pregnancy. For instance, at eleven weeks prepartum, women with

a more positive social identity as mothers identified closely with ingroup and described self and other ingroup members using maternal constructs; this construed social identity remained constant in the postpartum period and was associated with greater satisfaction with motherhood and more positive feelings for the baby. In contrast, women with a less positive social identity as mothers identified less closely with ingroup and emphasized the social aspects of the mothering role, at eleven weeks prepartum. Again this construed social identity remained constant postpartum, and was associated with less satisfaction with motherhood and less positive feelings for the baby.

These results would seem to indicate that the actual experience of early motherhood was not in itself a catalyst for change in social identity. It would appear that, during the course of pregnancy, women had developed a coherent picture of themselves as mothers, which was used to anticipate, and was indeed confirmed by, the experience of motherhood itself.

However, the general implication of defining womens' social identity in relation to specific social role or categories, is that changes in this aspect of self concept do occur in the course of lifespan development as women move from one social group to another. This assumption is lent some substance by comparing the results of McCoy's (1985) study of identity change for women undergoing voluntary sterilization (at the end, rather than the beginning of childbearing years) with the findings in this study.

Using Identity Structure Analysis (Weinreich, 1985) McCoy found that, when compared with a control group, the sterilization group showed a significantly higher level of identity conflict prior to surgery (approx. 4 weeks). This related to the ascription of negative qualities to family members and close friends. For instance, own mother was seen as unfulfilled, and in some cases, inconsiderate, and best friends as people who did not admit their faults readily. After surgery (approx. 3.7 mths) the sterilization group displayed significantly reduced identity conflict, and a significant increase in ideal identification with a working woman. Thus, in contrast to the findings in this study, where self was perceived as similar to own mother and close friend (ingroup), and dissimilar to a career orientated woman (outgroup), McCoy's findings would suggest that at the end of the childbearing years, this pattern of identification is reversed. In other words, women see themselves as more similar to a working woman (ingroup) and less similar to own mother and best friend (outgroup).

Further studies are needed to validate the assumption that social identity for women changes in the course of lifespan development. For instance, it would be interesting to compare the results from this study with an examination of the construing of social identity for adolescent girls, or women reaching retirement age, in order to be able to map any changes taking place in the course of women's lives.

II. The Relationship between Social Identity and Gender Identity in the Context of First Time Motherhood

As has been outlined previously, one of the major assumptions of previous studies of the social identity of women, using the theoretical framework of Social Identity Theory, is that this aspect of self concept is defined by identification with women as a social group, when compared with men. This implies, as Archer and Lloyd (1982) point out, that "male and female gender concepts provide prescriptions for gender group membership. To be fully accepted as a man, one must act, look, and feel like a man" (p. 218). Moreover, Condor (1983) has demonstrated that the extent of identification with women as a social category, is closely linked to womens' perceptions of their gender. She found that women who identified more closely with their gender group (high group identification) and had more traditional attitudes towards the role of women and men in society (acceptance of the sex role status quo), used feminine and not masculine constructs in self description. In contrast, women who identified less closely with their gender group (low group identification) and had more radical attitudes towards the role of women and men in society (rejection of the sex role status quo) described themselves as 'masculine' and not 'feminine'. So conceptions of gender were salient in defining social identity for women.

However, it was argued in this study that while gender distinctions may be central in characterizing social identity as derived from identification with women as a social group, there is no reason to assume that they are basic to the social identity of

women as derived from more specific group memberships, and by comparison with other groups of women. So, when looking at women's construing of themselves in the context of first time motherhood, it may be more appropriate to regard social identity and gender identity as distinct aspects of self concept, which function somewhat independently in processing information from the social environment. Results in Part One and Part Two of this study lent some credence to these assumptions.

In looking at 'mothers' as a specific social category, the link between group identification and gender identity established by Condor's findings, was not in evidence. Comparing the results in Part One of this study with those of Condor, it was found that women who identified more closely with the ingroup mothers (high group identification) and had more traditional views about the role of women in society (acceptance of the sex role status quo), used maternal constructs such as patient, calm, unselfish, caring etc. to describe self and other ingroup members. Women who identified less closely with ingroup (low group identification) and had more liberal/radical attitudes towards the role of women in society (rejection of the sex role status quo), described self and other ingroup members using constructs such as friendly, outgoing, sociable, interests centred outside the home etc. In common with Condor's findings therefore, the extent of ingroup identification and traditional/radical sex role attitudes were associated with differences in the characterization of social identity. However, in contrast to Condor's study, these differences

were related to an emphasis on the qualitative or social aspects of the mothering role, rather than construing of self as feminine or masculine.

In addition to this, it was found that scores on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), which measures the differential use of feminine/masculine characteristics in self description, were not predictive of either the extent of identification with 'mothers' as a social category, or traditional/radical sex role attitudes.

Thus, it may be concluded that when looking at the more specific social identity of women as 'mothers', differences in the degree of ingroup identification were not dependent on variations in gender identity. Furthermore, the proposal in this study that social identity and gender identity can be seen to represent distinct aspects of a woman's self concept, in the context of first time motherhood, was lent some support when the results in Part One and Part Two of this study were compared.

The most obvious difference in patterns of construing on the motherhood grids and the femininity grids arose in relation to construing of the element 'your mother'. On the motherhood grids, for the sample as a whole (N=53), own mother was perceived as similar to self and described, together with other ingroup members, using the maternal constructs. On the femininity grids for the sample as a whole, own mother was perceived as distant from self; while feminine constructs were used in self description, masculine constructs were used to describe own mother. This is

an important finding, since it shows a difference in perception of own other as a role model, that is as a reference person for defining social identity as a mother, and as a model for gender identity, that is the extent to which women perceive themselves as feminine and/or masculine in the context of first time motherhood. Social identity as a mother was generally associated with identification with, and attribution of 'maternal' qualities to own mother; gender identity in the context of first time motherhood was associated with perceiving own mother as different to, and less feminine than, self.

The finding should be considered with regard to the differing designs of the motherhood grids and the femininity grids. The motherhood grid used constructs elicited from the women in the study, in order to look at the content of social categorizations that characterized 'mothers' as a social group. The femininity grids used feminine and masculine constructs, which were derived from consensually or culturally defined feminine and masculine items on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). Its purpose was to look at the schematization of gender, that is, the organization of feminine and masculine constructs by a 'gender schema', and the use of these constructs in self description. Thomas (1986), in a discussion of the meaning of gender for women, has argued that it is inappropriate to judge peoples' perceptions of their gender, by simply looking at the way in which a person rates herself in relation to culturally defined gender conceptions, since personal constructions of gender may be different from normative

or cultural definitions. In criticizing the Bem Sex Role Inventory, she states that:

"What critically is not taken into account is whether or not the person concerned, describing herself perhaps as 'nurturant', actually shares Bem's view that this is a feminine characteristic and sees it as relevant to herself. If she does not, then any inference about her self perceived femininity is rendered invalid" (p. 3).

This would cast some doubt on the results outlined above, since it would suggest that use of culturally defined feminine/masculine characteristics on the femininity grid led to an inaccurate or misleading picture of womens' conceptions of their gender. However, these characteristics did appear to be perceived as feminine and masculine traits by the women in this study. Analysis of patterns of intercorrelation between constructs from the femininity grids showed that, for the sample as a whole, constructs were organized into distinct, and highly intercorrelated, feminine or masculine clusters. Moreover, feminine constructs such as loyal, understanding, warm and feminine were highly salient in self description, as evidenced by a correlation at the 1% level of significance between these constructs and the element 'yourself'.

Thus, cultural or consensual definitions of femininity/masculinity did appear to be meaningful for the women in this study, both in terms of the schematization of gender, and in characterizing self. This is a logical outcome if we are looking at the construction of gender within a sociocognitive framework. Normative or consensual definitions of femininity/masculinity are not abstract categories which are imposed on passive individuals, but are actively generated, by comparing self with others, in a particular social

context. The internalization of these categorizations allows an individual to locate herself, in relation to others, in terms of gender distinctions. Thus, as Frost (1980), in her review of the measurement of gender, suggests, while accounts of gender identity based on self ratings on culturally defined feminine/masculine items may be incomplete, they should not be dismissed as untrue, with the implication that "respondents must be lying in conformity to some social prescription or other; or they must be misled as to their own true nature by some process of brainwashing" (p. 74). Rather, womens' descriptions of themselves, and of femininity in general, as elicited by these means should be treated as an accurate report of some aspects of the evidence available, and as purposive, in providing guidelines, or plans for acting in a particular social world (Frost, 1980).

Overall, from the discussion in this section, it may be concluded that womens' perceptions of themselves as feminine or masculine are not necessarily the same as their perceptions of themselves as mothers. Furthermore, there was some support for the view that social identity and gender identity should be regarded as distinct aspects of a woman's self concept, which function somewhat independently in processing information from the social environment. However, it is considered that further investigation is needed to make more explicit the relationship between social identity and gender identity as they are defined within specific social contexts.

III. Gender Identity and Gender Schema Theory

Considering the results from Part Two of this study, are the characteristics of and variations in gender identity, for women becoming mothers for the first time adequately explained by the theoretical premises of Gender Schema Theory? In Gender Schema Theory, Bem (1979; 1981; 1983) makes the distinction between sex typed individuals (those who are significantly more likely to endorse either feminine or masculine characteristics when rating themselves on the Bem Sex Role Inventory) and non sex typed individuals (those who endorse both feminine and masculine characteristics). She suggests that the difference between these individuals can be explained by the differential use of a gender schema to process culturally defined feminine and masculine characteristics. It is assumed that sex typed individuals sort these characteristics into feminine and masculine equivalence classes, and that this process is of importance in defining self concept, so sex typed individuals are described as 'gender schematic'. In contrast, non sex typed individuals are considered to be 'gender aschematic', that is they sort culturally defined feminine and masculine characteristics by schema unrelated to gender, and so gender distinctions have little importance for defining self concept.

In this study, in order to examine differences in the construing of gender identity, scores on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (using median split technique) were used to divide the subjects into one sex typed (feminine sex typed) and three non sex typed groups (masculine, androgynous, undifferentiated). For each of these groups, repertory grid methodology was used to examine the

process of gender schematization and its importance for defining self concept.

The results showed that the process of gender schematization was common to all BSRI groups, rather than just the sex typed group, as predicted by Bem. So for all the BSRI groups, constructs were grouped into highly intercorrelated feminine clusters, or highly intercorrelated 'masculine' clusters. In no case were clusters of constructs formed by the intercorrelation of feminine and masculine constructs, which would have suggested a sorting of information on a free basis.

This finding supports the view, articulated by Archer and Lloyd (1982), that a gender schema, rather than being an arbitrary component of self concept, is in fact essential to the construction of a sense of self. It is not surprising in the light of this, to find that for women in this study, both in late pregnancy and early motherhood, feminine rather than masculine constructs were of primary importance in describing self. If, as Archer and Lloyd (1982) suggest, awareness of gender develops very early, and both aids the child in organizing her social world, and reflects her understanding of it, then it would be expected that, in the course of socialization, women will have developed a gender identity organized around conceptions of themselves as feminine rather than masculine.

However, in contrast to the findings in this study, Abrahams,

Feldman and Nash (1978), (using the Bem Sex Role Inventory as their sole measure of gender identity) found that, while mothers emphasized feminine qualities in self description, women in pregnancy characterized themselves using both feminine and masculine qualities. Thus they identified a change in gender identity from pregnancy to motherhood. In the light of this difference, it is considered that further research is needed, in relation to women in different social roles or points in lifespan development, to validate the assumption that femininity represents a core component of gender identity for women.

While the findings of this study cast some doubt on Bem's view that is the use, or not of a gender schema that distinguishes sex typed from non sex typed individuals, they do not render this distinction invalid, as a means of identifying variations in gender identity. Differences were found between the feminine sex typed and non sex typed groups, both in the organization of the gender schema, and the use of feminine and/or masculine constructs in self description.

For instance, for the feminine sex typed group, the gender schema (as represented by feminine and masculine constructs on the repertory grid) was organized around a single dimension, with highly intercorrelated feminine constructs at one pole and highly intercorrelated masculine constructs at the other. This schema was found to be relatively low in cognitive complexity, and changed little from late pregnancy to early motherhood. This would tend to confirm Bem's view that sex typed individuals have a relatively

stereotyped, and unchanging view of gender.

The most striking contrast to this was exhibited by the masculine (non sex typed) group. For this group, particularly in the postpartum period, constructs were organized into two distinct dimensions, which could be broadly characterized as constituting an empathic-unempathic dimension and an active-passive dimension. This schema was relatively high in terms of cognitive complexity, when compared with the feminine sex typed group, and was subject to greater change pre to postpartum. This would be in keeping with Bem's view that non sex typed individuals exhibit greater flexibility in their construing of gender.

These differences in the organization of the gender schema were reflected in the differing use of feminine/masculine constructs in self description. For the feminine sex typed group, both empathic and passive constructs were used to describe self, whereas for the masculine group, while empathic constructs were primary in describing self, active constructs were used to describe ideal self. This is an interesting finding, since it suggests that passivity is not integral to a woman's perception of herself as feminine, in the context of first time motherhood. It is unfortunate, as Breen (1975) has pointed out, that femininity and passivity are often treated as interchangeable terms. This has the consequence of suggesting that a feminine gender identity is somehow undesirable. That this was not the case for the women in this study is illustrated by the finding mentioned previously, that for the sample

as a whole, empathic constructs were of primary importance in describing self, suggesting that this aspect of femininity was central, and indeed valuable, to mothers' conceptions of their gender.

More generally, it may be concluded from the results outlined above that the distinction between sex typed and non sex typed individuals is a meaningful way of identifying variations in gender identity. However, as Baumrind (1982) suggests, some caution must be exercised when using this distinction to explain or predict behaviour in particular social contexts.

For instance, it was found in this study that mothers whose gender identity was high in masculinity were more likely to express more positive first feelings towards their babies. This would support the more general view that it is masculinity rather than androgyny that is predictive of 'better adjustment' in social situations (Jones, Chernovitz and Hansson, 1978; Silvern and Ryan, 1979). However, this does not (as might be assumed from BSRI scores alone), imply that high masculinity in gender identity reflects the valuing of masculine qualities over and above feminine ones. By examining the dimensionality of construing underlying differing scores on the BSRI, it was found that for the masculine group, active constructs formed a secondary component of gender identity, and empathic constructs were of primary importance in defining this aspect of self concept. Thus, it was the combination of empathy and activity in gender identity that was associated with more positive first feelings towards the baby.

This does cast some doubt on the utility of using scores on the BSRI alone to explain the relationship between the construing of gender and 'adjustment' in various social situations. By examining the schematization of gender that underlies BSRI classifications, it is possible to understand more completely the conceptual basis of variations in gender identity, and thus to explain more accurately the relationship between womens' conceptions of their gender and their reported experience in particular social contexts.

IV Practical Implications

The main practical implications of the findings in this study relate to the result that women who were somewhat older and had worked for longer, had a less positive social identity as mothers, and expressed less satisfaction with motherhood. This was not associated with a greater career orientation, or a desire to return to work earlier in the postpartum period, but with an emphasis on the importance of an active social life in defining social identity as a mother. It was suggested that, due to the disruption of social relationships made at work, and the lack of close contact with immediate family, these women may have experienced a sense of social isolation in the transition to motherhood.

In the light of these results, rather than promoting work as a panacea for women experiencing dissatisfaction with motherhood, it might be more appropriate to look for ways of promoting greater social contact for women in early motherhood. Mothers and toddlers clubs, and preschool playgroup facilities have gone some way towards doing this for women with children under five, though

from personal experience, these groups often do not exploit their potential for facilitating the development of social relationships between mothers. It is considered that similar groups should exist for women with young babies, which provide a basis from which women can develop their social lives in early motherhood.

The findings in this study have also shown that choice of group membership was an important factor influencing the positivity of social identity as a mother and feelings for the baby; mothers who had planned their pregnancies had a more positive social identity and expressed more positive feelings for the baby. In the light of this, it is considered that sex education for adolescent girls should include a discussion of the psychological and social implications of motherhood in contemporary British society, and should emphasize the benefits of planning motherhood as an activity, in relation to other life plans.

Finally, with regard to women choosing whether or not to combine work with motherhood in the postpartum period, it was found in this study that the majority of mothers did intend to return to work when their children were at school. Availability of part time work and/or more flexible working hours in a wide range of occupations, would provide mothers with greater choice, when considering feasibility of pursuing a chosen occupation and caring for their children.

V. Concluding Comments

A theoretical shift in investigating the social identity of women has been put forward in this study. Firstly, it has been suggested that we view women as constituting a heterogenous social group, which implies that they define their social identity in relation to specific group memberships (i.e. mothers, working women etc.). Secondly, it has been pointed out that we should not assume that womens' conceptions of their gender are fundamental to their characterization of themselves as group members. Rather, social identity and gender identity should be seen as distinct aspects of self concept, which function somewhat independently in processing information from the social environment.

The major advantage of taking this approach is that it enables us to examine womens' conceptualizations of themselves as relative to their activity in the social environment, and thus, by inference, as changing in the course of lifespan development.

The theoretical orientation outlined above has proved a useful one, both in terms of establishing the characteristics of, and distinctions between social identity and gender identity for women becoming mothers for the first time, and in determining the extent to which these aspects of self concept vary in relation to a woman's previous social experience, and are predictive of particular motherhood outcomes (i.e. satisfaction with motherhood, feelings for the baby). Also, it has been encouraging to find that generally, women positively value motherhood as an aspect of social identity, and femininity in their conceptions of their

gender. From an ideological point of view, it is important that women retain a sense of the positive value of both motherhood and femininity, rather than believing that in order to develop a positive sense of self in a society dominated by masculine values, they need to cast off their femininity and devalue mothering as an activity.

In conclusion, this study begins to develop a more finely grained analysis of the meaning of womanhood. Comparative studies of other social categories of women are needed, to further advance and validate the theoretical perspective used in this thesis to investigate the characteristics of, and variations in, the social identity and gender identity of women becoming mothers for the first time.

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APPENDIX

		FIG.NO.	ROLE TITLE	NAME
		1	YOURSELF	
		2	A SUCCESSFUL WOMAN	
		3	A GOOD MOTHER	
		4	A CAREER ORIENTATED WOMAN	
		5	A CLOSE FRIEND	
		6	YOURSELF AS YOU WOULD LIKE TO BE	
		7	YOUR MOTHER	
		8	SOMEONE WHO IS NOT A GOOD MOTHER	
SORT NO.				
		EMERGENT POLE	NUMBER	NAME:
				DATE:
		IMPLICIT POLE	<u>CONCEPTUAL GRID</u>	

Appendix Fig. 1. A Rep Test Sheet.

Appendix 1. Table 1. A list of constructs used for independent
rating from the motherhood grids.

	own rating	indep. rating
1. Likes children	17a	17a
2. Enjoys children	17a	17a
3. Is interested in children	6	1a
4. Is not interested in children	6	19b
5. Does not enjoy children	17b	17b
6. Family orientated	17a	17a
7. Enjoys family life	17a	17a
8. Does not like family life	17b	17b
9. Not family minded	6	6
10. Does not enjoy family life	17b	17b
11. Does not enjoy working	2b	6
12. Career/work orientated	5a	5a
13. Enjoys work/working	2b	6
14. Home centred	1b	6
15. Family more important	6	6
16. Work more important	5a	5a
17. Interests centred around home	6	6
18. Interests centred outside home	6	6
19. Cares for children	17a	17a
20. Does not care for children	17b	19b
21. Does not like children	17b	17b
22. Enjoys looking after children	17a	17a

Appendix 1, Table 2. A table to show some examples of computer programs available for repertory grid analysis.

Title of program	Microcomputer or mainframe	Parametric or non parametric	Developed by	Summary of Analysis
GAB(Grid analysis for beginners)	Microcomputer PET 16K RAM	Non-parametric	Bannister, D. High Royds Hosp. Menston, Ilkley, West Yorks	Is a non-interactive program It accepts dichotomous, ranked or rated grids. Analysis comprises a matrix of relationships between constructs; a matrix of relationships between elements, and calculates factors using the anchor method. For analysis of individual grids.
Choice Grid	Microcomputer APPLE II	non-parametric	Rivers, R. Dept. of Psychology, Surrey, Guildford Surrey.	Is an interactive program for analysis of single grids. Calculates element matches and construct rels. Elements can be plotted against the two independent constructs accounting for the greatest level of relationship with other constructs.
Pegasus	Main frame and microcomputer	Non-parametric	Shaw, M. Middlesex Polytechnic.	An interactive program for analysis of single grids. User builds up from a smaller to a larger grid by gradually adding more elements, constructs and ratings. The elicitation routine presents the user with highly matched elements along the way, so that the

Title of program	Microcomputer or mainframe	Parametric or non parametric	Developed by	Summary of Analysis
Ingrid (this is the basis of GAP; Grid Analysis Package. Most recently revised manual available from UMIST Regional Computer Centre)	Mainframe	Parametric	Slater, P. Academic Dept. Psychiatry, St. Georges Hospital, London SW17	user can further define their difference. The output is in terms of a "focused" grid, whereby similarly rated constructs and similarly rated elements appear next to each other and are linked into structures showing groupings between the elements and between the constructs. Is a non-interactive program for for analysis of individual grids. In addition to providing the major components of variation it gives information about the relationship between the elements, between the constructs and the interrelationship between constructs and elements.
Delta (GAP)	Mainframe	Parametric	Slater, P.	If two grids are exactly alligned (have the same constructs and elements) Delta can be used to examine the difference between them; it subtracts one grid from another

Title of program	Microcomputer or mainframe	Parametric or non parametric	Developed by	Summary of Analysis
Delta (contd)				and performs a principle component analysis on the difference between them. It can be used to test differences between two individuals or two repertory grids of the same person over time.
Minus	Mainframe(or microcomputer?)	Nonparametric	Shaw, M.	If the elements and constructs are the same, identifies the similarity between them, by superimposing one grid on the other. The resulting matrix is "focused" to identify those constructs and elements which are being used in the same way.
Core	Mainframe(or microcomputer?)	Non-parametric	Shaw, M.	Locates the 'core' constructs which remain the same over time. While the elements are held constant, the level of match of the most changed construct is printed, and can be deleted; the reduced grid is then stored. This process is continued until the level of match is so high that no change is indicated;

Title of program	Microcomputer or mainframe	Parametric or non parametric	Developed by	Summary of Analysis
Core (contd)				the reduced grid can then be produced and 'core' constructs identified. The same procedure is followed for elements.
Coin (GAP)	Mainframe	Parametric	Slater, P.	A group of grids may be aligned by constructs but not by elements. Program compares construct patterning, and provides an analysis of variation in the angular distance between the constructs.
Series (GAP)	Mainframe	Parametric	Slater, P.	This program deals with a group of grids aligned by construct and element. The program summarises data from the groups and offers an option to punch out the mean values of each element of each construct for the whole group. This forms a consensus grid from which an Ingrid analysis of the whole group can be derived. By using the Sequel program in conjunction with the consensus grid, each individual group member can be compared to the consensus.

Appendix, Figure 2. The MRG/EOC classification of occupations¹ for women.

<u>Occupational Title</u>	<u>Selected Occupations within Category</u>
1. Managers and Administrators	General managers, production managers, office managers, shopkeepers, publicans, farm managers
2. Education professions	University academic staff, primary and secondary teachers, FE teachers, education officers.
3. Health professionals etc.	Doctors, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, opticians, veterinarians, welfare workers, clergy.
4. Other professions	Judges, accountants, computer programmers, librarians, public health inspectors, journalists, entertainers, sportswomen.
5. Engineers, scientists, etc.	Biologists, chemists, engineers, architects, industrial designers.
6. Technicians etc.	Photographers, draughtsperson, engineering technicians, air traffic controllers.
7. Clerical occupations	Clerks, office machine operators, telephonists.
8. Secretarial occupations	Receptionists, personal secretaries, shorthand writers, typists.
9. Sales representatives	Technical sales representatives, wholesale and retail sales representatives.
10. Other sales occupations	Retail shop cashiers, sales assistants, shelf fillers, forecourt attendants.
11. Supervisors	Supervisors of clerks, typists, sales, catering, cleaning, hair dressing.
12. Foremen/forewomen	Supervisors of Police, fire fighting. Foremen in manufacturing sector, material handling, transport, construction, mining.

Appendix Fig. 2. continued

<u>Occupational Title</u>	<u>Selected occupations within category</u>
13. Craft occupations	Tailoring occupations, dress-makers, carpentry, craft engineering occupations, electricians, plumbers, painters and decorators, pottery decorators, bricklaying, plastering.
14. Skilled operatives	Weavers, knitters, butchers, bakers, printing machine minders, bookbinders, clothing cutters, sewing machinists, telephone fitters.
15. Other operatives	postal workers, agricultural workers, semi-skilled textile workers, assemblers, packers, goods vehicle drivers, bus conductors, goods porters.
16. Security and skilled personal service operations	Police, prison officers, security officers, chefs, cooks, housekeepers, hairdressing.
17. Other personal service operations	waitresses, bar staff, counter hands, domestic helpers, school meals assistants, caretakers, cleaners, attendants.
18. Other occupations	General labourers, inadequately described occupations.

Full details of this occupational classification and its relationship with KOS (CODOT), the 1980 Classification of Occupations (OPCS, 1981) and the Warwick Occupation Categories are obtainable on request from the Institute of Employment Bureau.

1. As used by Elias and Main (1982) and reported in "Womens Working Lives: Evidence from the National Training Survey." Research Report University of Warwick, Institute for Employment Research.

Appendix Fig. 3 A scale for the classification of educational level

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Educational level</u>
1	University degree or above
2	Professional institute final exams, eg. accountancy
3	HNC or HND
4	Teachers training (non graduate)
5	GCE 'A' levels
6	Professional institute below final level
7	SRN. Intermediate exams
8	Full Trade Apprentice ships
9	GCE 'O' level, CSE and secretarial
10	Ordinary National Certificate or Diploma
11	Trade Certificates and Diplomas
12	No qualifications

Note: This scale was based on one found in Hoinville, G., Jowell, R. and associates, "Survey Research Practices" Heinemann Educational Books, 1978.

Fig. 4. The shortened version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale

(Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1973). modified to suit the sample.

The statements listed below describe attitudes towards the role of women in society that different people have. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly or (D) disagree strongly. Please indicate your opinion by circling either A, B, C, or D for each statement on the sheet.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man. | A | B | C | D |
| 2. Women should take a more active part in politics | A | B | C | D |
| 3. Both husband and wife should be allowed the same grounds for divorce | A | B | C | D |
| 4. Telling dirty jokes should be mainly a masculine activity | A | B | C | D |
| 5. Drunkenness (intoxication) among women is worse than drunkenness (intoxication) among men. | A | B | C | D |
| 6. In our society, with women being active outside the home, men should share in the household tasks such as washing up and washing and ironing | A | B | C | D |
| 7. It is insulting to women to have the obey clause remain in the marriage service | A | B | C | D |
| 8. There should be a strict merit system in job appointment and promotion without regard to sex | A | B | C | D |
| 9. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage | A | B | C | D |
| 10. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers | A | B | C | D |
| 11. Women earning as much money as their boyfriends should bear equally the expense when they go out together. | A | B | C | D |
| 12. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men. | A | B | C | D |
| 13. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man | A | B | C | D |
| 14. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go on from school to further education (to go to college) than daughters | A | B | C | D |

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|----|
| 15. | It is ridiculous for a woman to drive a train
(run a locomotive) and for a man to darn socks | A | B | C | D |
| 16. | In general, the father in the family should have
greater authority than the mother in the bringing
up of children | A | B | C | D |
| 17. | A woman should be encouraged not to have sexual
relationships (to become sexually intimate)
with anyone before marriage, even their
fiances | A | B | C | D |
| 18. | The husband should not be favoured by law over
the wife in the disposal of family property or
income | A | B | C | D |
| 19. | Women should be concerned with their role of
childbearing and housework (housetending)
rather than with desires for professional and
business careers. | A | B | C | D |
| 20. | The ideas about the running of a country should
be largely the responsibility of men. | A | B | C | D |
| 21. | Independence is worth far more to women than
the acceptance of a dependent position like
that of housewife | A | B | C | D |
| 22. | On the average, women should be considered as
less capable of contributing to the economic
wealth of the country than are men. | A | B | C | D |
| 23. | There are many jobs in which men should be
given preference over women in being taken on
or promoted. | A | B | C | D |
| 24. | Women should be given equal opportunity with
men for apprenticeships in various trades | A | B | C | D |
| 25. | The modern girl is entitled to the same
freedom (of regulation and control-omitted)
that is given to the modern boy | A | B | C | C. |

Note: The original wording is bracketed after the changes in
wording for the suitability of a British sample, made for
the purpose of this study.

Appendix. Fig. 5. Baby Questionnaire (Neonatal Perception Inventory)

Average Baby

Although this is your first baby, you probably have some ideas of what most little babies are like. Please tick the blank you think best describes the AVERAGE baby

How much crying does the average baby do?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much trouble do you think the average baby has in feeding?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much spitting up or vomiting do you think the average baby does?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much difficulty do you think the average baby has in sleeping?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much difficulty does the average baby have with bowel movements?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much trouble do you think the average baby has in settling down to a predictable pattern of eating and sleeping?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

Fig. 5 continued

Your baby

You have cared for your baby for a short time now; please tick the blank you think best describes your baby.

How much crying has your baby done?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much trouble has your baby had feeding?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much spitting up or vomiting has your baby done?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much difficulty has your baby had in sleeping?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much difficulty has your baby had with bowel movements?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

How much trouble has your baby had in settling down to a predictable pattern of eating and sleeping?

<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
a great deal	a good bit	a moderate amount	very little	none

Appendix Fig. 6. The BEM Sex Role Inventory in its modified form.

Please indicate how much the following describe you, by ticking in the appropriate box.

You have a choice of seven positions, from (1) never or almost never true of me to (7) always or almost always true of me.

ITEMS	Never/ almost never		3	4	5	Always/almost always	
	1	2				6	7
1. Self reliant							
2. Gives way easily							
3. Helpful							
4. Defends own beliefs							
5. Cheerful							
6. Moody							
7. Independent							
8. Shy							
9. Painstaking							
10. Athletic							
11. Affectionate							
12. Theatrical							
13. Stand up for yourself							
14. Flatterable							
15. Happy							
16. Strong personality							
17. Loyal							
18. Unpredictable							
19. Forceful							
20. Feminine							
21. Reliable							
22. Logical							
23. Sympathetic							
24. Jealous							
25. Has leadership abilities							
26. Sensitive to the needs of others							
27. Truthful							
28. Willing to take risks							
29. Understanding							
30. Secretive							

Figure 6 continued

ITEMS	Never/ almost never			Always/almost always			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. Makes decisions easily							
32. Responsive to other peoples feelings							
33. Sincere							
34. Can organize own life without others help							
35. Eager to soothe hurt feelings							
36. Conceited							
37. Dominant							
38. Soft spoken							
39. Likeable							
40. Masculine							
41. Warm							
42. Solemn							
43. Willing to take a stand							
44. Tender							
45. Friendly							
46. Aggressive							
47. Easily taken in							
48. Inefficient							
49. Acts as a leader							
50. Childlike							
51. Adaptable							
52. Like to do your own thing							
53. Does not use harsh language							
54. Disorganized							
55. Competitive							
56. Loves children							
57. Tactful							
58. Ambitious							
59. Gentle							
60. Similar to most other people							

Table 3. To show the change in scores for the BSRI from eleven weeks prepartum to one month postpartum for the pilot study sample (N=10)

Subjects	11 weeks prepartum			one month postpartum			BSRI Classification
	Mean of masculine items (N=20)	mean of feminine items (N=20)	t	mean of masculine items (N=20)	mean of feminine items (N=20)	t	
1	3.1	5.2	4.8	3.5	5.0	4.9	Feminine sex typed
2	4.3	3.6	-0.54	4.0	3.9	-0.21	Androgynous
3	5.5	5.1	-0.7	5.1	5.0	-0.11	Androgynous
4	4.4	4.8	0.7	3.8	4.1	0.6	Androgynous
5	5.6	4.8	-1.3	4.4	3.8	-1.2	Androgynous - masculine
6	3.1	5.3	4.9	3.8	5.3	4.1	Feminine sex typed
7	4.5	5.4	1.3	3.9	4.8	1.6	Androgynous - feminine
8	3.2	3.5	1.0	4.9	4.0	-0.9	Androgynous
9	5.3	5.4	0.2	4.5	5.0	0.6	Androgynous
10	4.7	5.5	1.4	3.5	4.4	1.6	Androgynous - feminine